

Les mystérieuses lettres de la procession des martyrs à Saint-Apollinaire-le-Neuf de Ravenne

La théorie des martyrs dans la nef de Saint-Apollinaire-le-Neuf à Ravenne est, entre autres singularités, remarquable par les lettres qui figurent sur les vêtements des saints, lettres qui n'ont pas encore trouvé d'explication cohérente.

Pour essayer de résoudre ce mystère, il convient de rappeler sommairement l'histoire du sanctuaire où se trouve cette procession des martyrs. Il a été édifié vers la fin du V^e siècle par Théodoric, roi d'origine ostrogothique, qui avait fait alors alliance avec Rome et qui était le maître de pratiquement tout l'empire d'Occident. Mais Ravenne fut prise après 540 par les Byzantins et par Justinien. Ce changement de pouvoir entraîna une véritable révolution religieuse. En effet Théodoric pratiquait l'arianisme qui n'admettait pas que le Christ fût consubstantiel au Père, et qui s'opposait à l'« orthodoxie », selon laquelle Dieu, Saint-Esprit et Christ ne faisaient qu'un. Constantin avait pourtant réuni à Nicée en 325 un concile qui avait consacré les thèses anti-ariennes, dogme qui avait été confirmé par le concile de Constantinople en 381, mais l'« hérésie » arienne avait perduré. En revanche les nouveaux maîtres de Ravenne étaient, eux, dans l'« orthodoxie ». Justinien veilla à évacuer les marques d'arianisme présentes dans les églises et il chargea l'évêque Agnellus de maintenir les sanctuaires dans le giron de la « véritable foi catholique »¹. À Saint-Apollinaire-le-Neuf² les modifications concernèrent surtout la théorie des martyrs qui nous occupe. Théodoric avait en effet très probablement fait figurer deux cortèges, l'un sur la partie supérieure droite de la nef, l'autre sur la partie supérieure gauche – des cortèges dont on a pensé qu'il s'agissait de notables de la cour puisque l'un des

¹ AGNELLUS, *Liber pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis* 85. Cet Andreas Agnellus, homonyme de l'évêque, a raconté l'histoire des évêques de Ravenne jusqu'au IX^e siècle. Nous le distinguerons chaque fois de l'évêque par la mention de son prénom et abrègerons le titre de son ouvrage en *LP*. L'édition que nous avons utilisée est celle de HOLDER-EGGER (1878), mise en ligne par l'Université de Georgetown <<http://faculty.georgetown.edu/jod/agnellus.int.html>>, revue par Deborah Mauskopf DELIYANNIS (1996). Il faut signaler aussi l'édition de Claudia NAUERTH (1996), qui comporte une introduction et des notes très utiles, mais qui n'a pas eu à apporter beaucoup d'amendements au texte d'Holder.

² En réalité la basilique était, sous Théodoric, vouée au Christ Rédempteur. Après 540 elle sera consacrée à saint Martin et ce n'est qu'au milieu du IX^e siècle, quand on y transféra depuis la basilique de Classe au bord de la mer les reliques de saint Apollinaire, premier évêque de la ville, qu'elle prendra le nom de Saint-Apollinaire-le-Neuf.

deux sort du *palatium* encore représenté comme point de départ juste à côté des personnages³. L'évêque Agnellus les remplaça par deux processions de martyrs, l'une de vierges, l'autre de saints où il donna à saint Martin, très opposé à l'arianisme, une place de choix. Il fit ainsi d'une pierre deux coups, exaltant un défenseur de la Trinité et supprimant un souvenir de l'époque de Théodoric.

Mais les transformations n'étaient pas terminées. Félix Kibel, au XIX^e siècle, a introduit des innovations, dont la plus visible à Saint-Apollinaire-le-Neuf est celle qui a affecté la scène des rois mages. En ce qui concerne la procession des saints, nous savons par Malazappi⁴ que le personnage qui la conduisait était en réalité saint Étienne, le premier martyr ; mais, comme le début de la théorie avait été endommagé, Kibel, ignorant sans doute l'ancienne présence du proto-martyr, a représenté seulement Martin et lui a donné son fameux manteau en l'amplifiant pour recouvrir l'espace restant.

C'est sur les vêtements de ces saints martyrs que se trouvent ces lettres dont la signification n'a jamais été établie⁵. Le recensement du C.I.D.M. (*Centro Internazionale di Documentazione sul Mosaico*) constate que ces symboles sont *non decodificabili*. Les spécialistes⁶ ont longuement étudié le choix et l'ordre des personnages de cette théorie, mais ou bien ils n'ont fait qu'évoquer rapidement ces marques, ou bien ils les ont tout simplement laissées de côté.

Avant de reprendre cette question de l'interprétation des marques sur de nouveaux frais⁷, il faut évidemment essayer de préciser, à partir de l'histoire de la basilique que nous venons d'esquisser, de quelle époque peuvent bien dater ces inscriptions, car la datation pourrait, peut-être, déjà nous éclairer sur leur sens. Sont-elles de Théodoric, d'Agnellus ou de Kibel ? Excluons d'abord l'hypothèse selon laquelle ces marques étaient déjà sur les vêtements des notables. On ne voit pas comment des lettres, dont nous verrons que certaines, comme le gamma, étaient réservées aux anges, aux apôtres ou aux martyrs, pouvaient se trouver sur des laïcs. Excluons aussi l'idée que Kibel ait pu les introduire lors de son intervention. Il nous aurait certainement informés de ce fait et du sens

³ Cf. LANZONI (1969), p. 171. Notons cependant que certains ont estimé qu'il y avait deux processions de saints dès l'origine, mais avec des référents ariens : BOVINI (1952), p. 103.

⁴ Giovanni Francesco Malazappi da Carpi, *fol.* 201. Malazappi a, en 1580, écrit des *Croniche della provincia di Bologna*. Sur ce témoignage, voir l'excellente analyse de BALDINI LIPOLLIS (2012), p. 386.

⁵ Il faut observer qu'il n'y a pas d'inscription, en revanche, sur les vêtements des vierges.

⁶ Dans une très vaste bibliographie, nous retiendrons BOVINI (1966) ; LUCCHESI (1971) ; MAZZOTTI (1975) ; DELIYANNIS (2010) ; PENNI IACCO (2004, 2011) ; BALDINI LIPOLLIS (2012) ; RIZZARDI (2011).

⁷ Nous laissons de côté pour l'instant la question du choix et de l'ordre des martyrs que nous évoquerons plus tard, et sur laquelle notre hypothèse apportera peut-être quelque lumière.

des lettres. Celles-ci datent donc très probablement des années 556-569 où Agnellus exerce son épiscopat et remplit la mission que lui a confiée Justinien. Ce qui pourrait nous conduire à supposer qu'elles ont été introduites, comme la prééminence accordée à Martin, dans une perspective anti-arienne.

Mais reprenons les marques en partant du choeur et en nous dirigeant vers l'entrée du sanctuaire : on lit successivement Φ^8 R Γ L N N ω Φ N A Γ I O H L A O I C A L I Φ C T, chaque marque étant figurée presque toujours deux fois, une fois au bas du pan gauche du vêtement, une fois au bas de son pan droit⁹. On dit souvent que les caractères de ces inscriptions sont grecs. De fait il apparaît qu'il y a un mélange de grec et de latin, ce qui n'est pas surprenant à une époque où triomphe le bilinguisme : Ravenne, qui est dans le domaine romain, subit une forte influence byzantine. Mais le latin perdure : les inscriptions qu'Andreas Agnellus nous rapporte sont en latin, l'építaphe même de l'évêque Agnellus, comme celles de tous les dignitaires de l'église de Ravenne, est en latin¹⁰ : et s'il y a ici deux gamma, un oméga et un éta (dont nous verrons la valeur), il y a 3 L, 2 C, 1 R qui doivent être latins. On peut toujours penser pour le L à un gamma retourné et pour le C à un sigma *lunato*, mais pour le R aucun doute n'est possible sur son origine latine.

On observe d'abord que les lettres n'ont apparemment pas de rapport avec le rôle terrestre du martyr qui les porte. Les rapprochements possibles sont rares et sujets à caution. Pour Sébastien par exemple, on pourrait admettre qu'il porte trois O dans la mesure où c'est l'initiale du mot *οἰκέτης*, *le serviteur*, entendons *le serviteur du Christ* que Sébastien proclame vouloir être¹¹. Mais rien ne peut le confirmer. La preuve que la marque n'est pas liée à l'existence du saint semble donnée par le fait que des martyrs qui ont eu une vie très semblable présentent des marques différentes, ainsi Jean et Paul, Nabor et Félix, Protus et Jacinte. L'important est leur martyre ainsi que leur témoignage en faveur du Christ et non telle ou telle circonstance de leur existence.

D'autre part, l'hypothèse initiale sur la portée anti-arienne de ces marques semble difficile à étayer. Il faut être bien aventureux pour trouver à certaines une valeur anti-arienne en disant par exemple que le gamma n'est pas seulement la lettre prestigieuse que l'on trouve sur les vêtements des anges, des apôtres et

⁸ Φ représentant un cœur transpercé.

⁹ Les saints étant dans l'ordre Clément I, Sixte II, Laurent, Hippolyte, Cornélius, Cyprien, Cassien, Jean, Paul, Vital, Gervais, Protase, Ursicinus, Nabor, Félix, Apollinaire, Sébastien, Démétrius, Polycarpe, Vincent, Pancrace, Chrysogonus, Protus, Jacinthe, Sabinus. Martin ne porte pas de lettre. Apollinaire, Ursicinus, Nabor n'en portent qu'une.

¹⁰ LP 86.

¹¹ Dans la biographie du saint de *La légende dorée* (*Legenda aurea*), par Jacques de Voragine (XIII^e siècle). Bien que Voragine se réfère à des auteurs dignes de foi comme saint Augustin, saint Jérôme, Chrysostome, Grégoire de Tours etc., il faut remarquer que nous ne voyons rien chez eux qui corresponde à cette proclamation de Sébastien.

des martyrs, mais signifie en ce cas le chiffre trois cher à l'« orthodoxie »¹² ; que le N peut représenter l'initiale de νοῦς = *l'Esprit* ; le L, celle de *lumen* = *la Lumière (du Christ et de Dieu)* ; le A, celle d'ἀληθής = *le Vrai Dieu* ; le O, celle de ὁμοούσιος = *celui qui est consubstantiel au Père*. Le T pourrait ne pas être le signe de la croix, mais l'initiale du mot *trinitarius* = *le défenseur de la Trinité*. Mais ces interprétations sont bien discutables, mêlent mots grecs et mots latins, et c'est plutôt vers d'autres explications qu'il faut, semble-t-il, se tourner.

On observe une chose curieuse : jusqu'à Paul les lettres et signes sont à la fois assez semblables et relativement prestigieux : trois N, deux Φ, un gamma, un oméga, soit au total sept sur neuf marques. Des signes prestigieux : en effet le N peut avoir le sens de *Nazarenus* ; le cœur transpercé – qui aura le sort que l'on sait à partir du XVII^e siècle – est évoqué par l'apôtre Jean ; le gamma, dont nous venons de voir l'usage, est donc réservé aux personnages les plus sacrés ; l'oméga, associé à l'alpha, désigne le Christ en tant que début et fin de toute chose (*Ap.*, XXI, 6 et XXII, 13) ; le R est sans doute l'initiale de *rex*, entendons *rex Christus*, Christ qui ici même trônait en tenant un livre avec l'inscription *Ego sum rex mundi* (c'est Kibel qui l'a affublé d'un sceptre)¹³. Il s'agit de signes qui se retrouvent dans nombre de mosaïques et de peintures religieuses et qui sont d'ailleurs réservés, dans les représentations ravennates, à des compagnons du Christ, à des anges, etc. Ces neuf premiers martyrs de la procession ont généralement exercé de hautes fonctions. Ils sont ce que l'on appelle quelquefois des hiéromartyrs. Nous sommes sûrs qu'il y a parmi eux au moins trois papes (ou évêques de Rome), un archidiacre, un évêque et des amis très proches de ces hauts dignitaires.

Mais ensuite, à partir de Vital, la plupart des lettres – A I O C T – sont moins faciles à interpréter, moins utilisées par les Chrétiens, et sont – sauf Γ, L et le cœur – ignorées au début de la procession. Elles sont absentes aussi sur les vêtements des autres personnages des sites ravennates, les apôtres du baptistère des Ariens n'ayant par exemple que l'êta, le dzêta et le gamma. Tout se passe comme si, contrairement aux précédentes, ces lettres n'étaient pas des marques adaptées au saint qui les porte ou exaltant le Christ, mais des éléments de mots à lire en continu. Et, si on les isole du début, apparaissent alors plus ou moins nettement, dans une transcription à peu près latine, des mots grecs, dont deux sans désinences claires : *agio*¹⁴, *laoi*, *calic*.

¹² Il y a une abondante bibliographie sur la valeur des lettres et des signes dans le christianisme. Voir en particulier : QUACQUARELLI (1978, 1979, 1986) ; CHEVALIER / GHEERBRANT (1986) ; FEUILLET (2004) ; DI BIAGIO (2008).

¹³ La présence, sur le vêtement de Sixte II, du R symbolisant la royauté christique et l'inscription sur le livre tenu par le Seigneur peuvent être les indices d'une origine identique et d'une date identique. Le L peut être un gamma retourné.

¹⁴ Les aspirations grecques sont rarement rendues dans les transcriptions latines.

La présence des lettres gamma et êta dans le premier élément – qui est donc sous la forme ΑΓΙΟΗ – ne surprend pas puisque ce sont des lettres prestigieuses dans les inscriptions chrétiennes. Pour le gamma, dont nous avons vu l'éclat, il est compréhensible qu'un mosaïste l'ait choisi à la place du G latin, bien commun... L'êta est incontestablement sacré aussi. Dans le baptistère proche des Ariens, cinq apôtres le portent. H signifie huit et désigne à la fois le huitième jour, ouvert sur le monde nouvellement créé, qui succède au jour du repos divin, et la résurrection du Christ, prodrome du retour des justes promis à la félicité parfaite¹⁵. Des mosaïstes ne comprenant pas le sens de cette inscription ont pu l'utiliser pour remplacer une autre lettre. Il est remarquable – comme on le voit sur la reproduction – qu'il est unique sur le vêtement de Nabor et bien mal dessiné, comme s'il avait remplacé une autre lettre. Mais laquelle ? Un E ne convient pas. Avec la proximité de *laoi* on est tenté d'introduire un iota, de lire *agioi*, et de comprendre *les peuples sacrés*, d'autant qu'en rapprochant deux I on obtient II, soit presque un H. Les deux termes font songer à l'expression de la version grecque du *Deutéronome* (VII, 6) pour désigner Israël : λαὸς ἅγιος, *le peuple sacré, le peuple élu*. Mais d'autres lettres sont possibles comme le nu, l'upsilon. Pour ce qui est du pluriel λαοί, il ne doit pas surprendre car il peut posséder une valeur emphatique et s'applique souvent dans le Nouveau Testament à l'ensemble des Chrétiens.

Mais reste à expliquer la dernière partie. Peut-on voir dans *calict* un adjectif au superlatif indiquant l'idée de beauté comme κάλλιστος ? Pourquoi pas ? Mais il faudrait compléter par une désinence en -oi, lire ἅγιοι λαοὶ κάλλιστοι et comprendre *les très beaux peuples sacrés*¹⁶. Cette évocation s'inscrirait bien dans l'idée qui a été émise que cette théorie pourrait évoquer les différentes stations d'un itinéraire processional reliant les différents sites religieux de la ville et des environs¹⁷. Ces saints sont très beaux à la fois par leurs témoignages et par le décorum qui les accompagne. Mais d'abord le pluriel λαοί semble excessif ; ensuite on verrait mieux le superlatif antéposé ; en outre, il n'y a qu'un lambda pour le dernier mot et il faut lire le premier C comme équivalant à un kappa et le second comme un *sigma lunato* !

En revanche, un mot très proche de *Calict* était omniprésent en Italie dans l'esprit des Chrétiens de l'époque, celui désignant la première catacombe où figuraient bien des martyrs¹⁸, la catacombe qui prit le nom du martyr du

¹⁵ *Lettre de Barnabé* 15, 3-8. Notons qu'il est logique que cette lettre se trouve largement représentée dans le baptistère puisque le baptême est aussi une re-naissance, semblable à celle du Christ et du monde des justes. Le nombre huit se retrouve même dans le plan du baptistère, qui est, comme celui de nombreux sanctuaires de ce type, octogonal.

¹⁶ L'absence d'article n'a rien de surprenant dans un texte transcrit avec l'alphabet latin et n'est pas rare dans une sorte de titre.

¹⁷ BALDINI LIPOLLIS (2012), p. 393.

¹⁸ Il y avait les restes de seize papes et de dizaines de martyrs.

III^e siècle, saint Calixte, sans doute la plus célèbre de la soixantaine de catacombes romaines. En ce cas, il faudrait lire ἄγιοι λαοὶ Καλίστου et comprendre *les peuples sacrés de Calixte*. Les seize derniers martyrs représenteraient toute la foule des martyrs de cette catacombe. Ainsi, à côté des neuf illustres martyrs figurant en tête, viendraient s'adjoindre ceux qui sont un peu moins célèbres et qui représentent le reste des martyrs (je compte parmi ces seize martyrs un seul évêque, Polycarpe, et un diacre, Vincent, ainsi que des mégalomartyrs, donc des laïcs, comme Sébastien et Démétrius). L'appellation de Calixte a pu très bien être rendue par *Calictou* ou sous une forme latinisée *Calicti*. Notons qu'une troisième hypothèse nous ferait rapprocher par une hyperbate, rare mais attestée, le premier et le dernier mot ἄγιου λαοὶ Καλίστου et lire *les peuples de saint Calixte*. Le H pourrait plus aisément avoir remplacé le Y, upsilon majuscule. Notons que l'insertion d'un cœur n'a rien d'étonnant au centre d'un mot sacré. Le T final reste, nous en convenons, une difficulté, car on attendrait la désinence grecque en *-ou* ou la latine en *-i*. Comme pour l'êta, une analyse des tesselles et du mortier serait bienvenue.

Peut-on choisir entre ces deux hypothèses ? On préférera la seconde, car ces catacombes n'étaient pas désignées par le seul nom de Calixte, mais par la mention complète de Saint-Calixte. L'évocation de saint Calixte s'insère bien dans la suite de la frise : celle-ci se voudrait alors sans doute, par la succession de vingt-cinq martyrs, la représentation de leur foule immense. Mais pourquoi mentionner saint Calixte alors que l'on peut difficilement trouver, à l'intérieur de la procession, des saints qui ont dû être placés dans la catacombe ? Parmi les neuf premiers, je n'en vois qu'un qui y a été sûrement mis : Sixte II. Pour Laurent et Cornélius c'est plus hypothétique. Et si certains martyrs comme Hippolyte, Jean et Paul ont eu leur sépulture à Rome¹⁹, d'autres ont été inhumés dans des lieux très divers : Clément en Crimée²⁰, Cyprien à Carthage, Cassien à Imola. Parmi les seize suivants, Pancrace était inhumé à Rome dans la catacombe du même nom, Protus et Hyacinthe dans une autre catacombe romaine, mais les autres furent inhumés loin de Rome : Vital, Gervais, Protase et Apollinaire à Ravenne, Sébastien, Ursicinus, Nabor et Félix à Milan ou dans les environs, Sabinus à Spolète, Démétrius en Grèce, Polycarpe en Asie Mineure, Chrysogonus à Aquilée, Vincent en Espagne. Mais en fait les lieux des sépultures n'étaient certainement pas toujours connus. De plus, les reliques se sont répandues partout : ainsi on trouvait à Ravenne des reliques du protomartyr Étienne, pourtant mort à Jérusalem²¹. Il était tentant de renvoyer l'origine des dépôts d'ossements à la prestigieuse catacombe de Saint-Calixte. Ravenne a d'ailleurs accueilli de nombreux dépôts : le *Liber pontificalis* d'Andreas Agnellus atteste de l'arrivée de reliques peu avant l'édification de Saint-Apollinaire-le-Neuf. Et Isabella Baldini estime

¹⁹ Cornélius non loin de Rome, à Centumcellae.

²⁰ Cf. SCORZA BARCELLONA (2000).

²¹ LP 72.

qu'au moins les sept dixièmes des saints et saintes de ces deux théories avaient un culte à Ravenne ou dans les environs (en particulier Étienne, Protus, Gervais, Laurent, Apollinaire, Hippolyte, Cassien, Vital, Gervais, Protase et Ursicinus) et que des reliques existaient pour un nombre certainement aussi grand²². Il était évidemment logique que l'évêque Agnellus ne fît évoquer, parmi la soixantaine de catacombes romaines, que celle de Saint-Calixte, puisque c'était la plus fameuse. Les restes de seize papes, de dizaines de martyrs y reposaient. C'était le cimetière officiel de l'église de Rome.

De plus, il faut remarquer que, parmi les martyrs de la catacombe de Saint-Calixte, certains se sont bel et bien affirmés au service d'un Christ-Dieu. Ainsi dans la procession féminine de l'autre côté de la nef, la fameuse sainte Cécile (martyre du III^e siècle) aurait en mourant exécuté le geste des trois doigts, évoquant la trinité. Ce n'est sans doute pas un hasard si elle figure en bonne place, la sixième. La frise de la procession masculine constituerait donc une suite logique, un ensemble très cohérent – quand elle était conduite par saint Étienne –, partant du premier des martyrs, honorant quelques martyrs de haut rang et s'achevant sur la foule immense qui leur a succédé. L'introduction de Martin, qui ne fut pas martyr, détone un peu certes dans la succession, mais nous avons vu que, dans la mosaïque actuelle du moins, lui ne porte pas de lettre.

Il y aurait d'ailleurs une autre explication admissible, c'est qu'il ne soit pas fait référence dans cette inscription à la catacombe, mais à la litanie de saint Calixte qui énumérait de multiples saints et dont on ignore quel pouvait être le contenu exact au milieu du VI^e siècle. Cette liste, telle qu'on la connaît aujourd'hui, contenait des personnages comme Pierre, Paul, Vincent, Polycarpe qui n'étaient pas dans la catacombe de Saint-Calixte. Toute litanie est ouverte.

Cependant une autre hypothèse est possible. L'autre mot commençant par *calic-* dans le domaine religieux est un mot latin : *calix* (gén. *calicis*), le calice, la coupe contenant le sang du Christ, symbole de l'incarnation et de la Passion (Mt., XXVI, 26-29, etc.). Le mot grec correspondant ἡ κύλιξ (= *la coupe*) n'est pas employé, d'autant probablement qu'il y a un mot proche qui peut prêter à confusion : ἡ κάλυξ – terme qu'on trouve aussi au masculin – qui signifie *le calice de la fleur* ; c'est ποτήριον qui est utilisé constamment pour désigner le calice dans les textes grecs de la Bible (p. ex. Luc, XXII, 20) et dans les offices en grec. Les fidèles ont dû avoir l'habitude d'employer plutôt le latin *calix*. Il faudrait donc supposer que la graphie originale présentait, sous sa forme complète, une sorte de mélange gréco-latin *agioi laoi calicis*, un mélange très naturel car *calix* devait être senti comme d'origine grecque en raison même de l'existence des deux mots grecs proches. Le sens de l'inscription étant : *les peuples sacrés du calice*, ou avec une hyperbate plus probable, le Y – voir plus haut – ayant été transformé en H sans doute par un mosaïste qui n'avait pas

²² BALDINI LIPOLLIS (2012), p. 393.

compris le sens de l'inscription, *agiou laoi calicis, les peuples du saint calice*²³. Le rapprochement entre *agio(u)* et *calic(is)* ne doit pas surprendre : sous sa forme latine complète (*sanctus calix*) l'expression est omniprésente dans les textes chrétiens. On voit qu'Andreas Agnellus l'emploie constamment quand il évoque les messes des dignitaires de l'évêché ravennate – ce qui peut confirmer d'ailleurs l'hypothèse d'une hyperbate entre *agio(u)* et *calic(is)*²⁴.

Il faut remarquer en outre que l'eucharistie occupe un rôle essentiel dans l'inscription. En effet le rapport est évident, d'après les récits de l'évangéliste Jean (6, 51-56 et 19, 34), entre le sang versé par le Christ (après le coup de lance donné par le soldat romain) et ce sacrement : le cœur transpercé évoque donc directement le calice. Or, faits à souligner, cette marque se situe ici en première place parmi les signes figurant sur les vêtements des saints et se trouve insérée – d'une façon probablement intentionnelle – au centre même du mot *calic*.

Il y a plus. À propos de ce calice, Andreas Agnellus nous apprend quelque chose de capital. En effet, il raconte un événement miraculeux qui a concerné la ville²⁵. Dans les années 440, semble-t-il (les datations d'Agnellus sont discutables, comme le montrait déjà Lenglet du Fresnoy au XVIII^e siècle²⁶), alors que l'évêque Jean célébrait la messe, un ange enleva le calice des mains du diacre qui le présentait et le donna à l'évêque. Fait si fameux que Jean fut distingué des autres Jean par le titre d'*Angelopte* : *celui qui a vu l'ange*. On imagine le prestige extraordinaire de ce miracle pour les Ravennates. Tout se serait passé comme si le Christ avait voulu honorer particulièrement la cité en contribuant, par l'intervention d'un ange, à y renouveler l'eucharistie. L'inscription de l'église Saint-Apollinaire-le-Neuf pourrait rappeler ce fait miraculeux, les martyrs ou les Ravennates qu'ils représentent étant *les peuples du saint calice*. Nous avons déjà évoqué la valeur emphatique du pluriel, mais il faut observer aussi que le pluriel même *λαοί* se justifierait, dans la mesure où Ravenne fut, à partir des années 580, à la tête d'une pentapole.

Cette interprétation expliquerait un élément surprenant de la procession dont il n'a pas été vraiment rendu compte : Laurent, qui figure au troisième rang des martyrs, est le seul à porter un vêtement doré, unique représentation que nous connaissions de lui avec une telle robe. Cette parure prestigieuse montre que l'on a voulu lui conférer un rôle et une importance de premier plan dans la théorie. Or il était parfaitement connu que l'archidiacre se vit confier par Sixte II tous les trésors de l'église²⁷, trésors où se trouvait très probablement le

²³ L'usage d'une hyperbate et d'un pluriel emphatique suggère que l'instigateur de cette rédaction était un homme cultivé, amateur de belles lettres.

²⁴ *Calix* est masculin. Si, pour désigner le calice, l'auteur de l'inscription avait voulu employer *κύλιξ*, ou *κάλυξ* féminin, il aurait dû mettre *ἀγίας*.

²⁵ LP 44.

²⁶ LENGLET DU FRESNOY (1772), t. XI, p. 379.

²⁷ PRUDENCE, *Per.* 2 ; SAINT AUGUSTIN, *Serm.* 303 ; SAINT AMBROISE, *De off. min.* 41 ; LÉON LE GRAND, *Serm.* 85. Laurent était très populaire à Ravenne : il avait là une église

fameux calice²⁸. Comment expliquer la couleur prestigieuse de ce vêtement si ce n'est par le fait que ce saint aurait eu en mains le saint calice ? La procession est donc centrée, semble-t-il, sur l'exaltation de cette précieuse coupe.

Il est remarquable que, dans une autre église de Ravenne, le calice joue aussi un rôle important dans le décor de mosaïques. En effet, dans la basilique Saint-Vital, un peu antérieure au remaniement de Saint-Apollinaire-le-Neuf (elle a été bâtie de 527 à 548), l'impératrice Théodora apporte un calice d'or pour le déroulement du saint office²⁹. Si l'on admet mon hypothèse, les deux scènes se répondent et l'on assiste là à un dialogue visuel. À Saint-Vital, ce sont les maîtres de l'Empire qui apportent le calice ; ici, l'évêque Agnellus rappelle par l'inscription que c'est le Christ lui-même qui a fait transmettre le calice aux Ravennates. Ce qui déprécie nettement l'offrande impériale. Mais l'impératrice, qui d'ailleurs n'a pas toujours été bien vue en raison de ses frasques de jeunesse, n'est plus de ce monde... Elle est décédée en 548, soit huit ans avant la reprise des lieux par l'évêque, et Justinien mourra au beau milieu de la période des travaux en 565.

Reste à essayer de préciser un point : on peut se demander si l'expression concerne les seize martyrs ou l'ensemble des populations de la région ravennate : *laoi* semble renvoyer à des peuples – nous l'avons dit –, ceux de la pentapole, mais la procession donne l'impression d'une véritable foule. De plus, ces martyrs semblent tout désignés pour porter cette inscription car les huit premiers (Vital, Gervais, Protase, Ursicinus, Nabor, Félix, Apollinaire, Sébastien) ont été martyrs à Ravenne ou non loin de là, tandis que les autres l'ont été, sauf Démétrius, Vincent et Polycarpe³⁰, en Italie³¹. Ce qui fait que, d'une certaine manière, les lettres que nous avons détachées et dont nous avons le sentiment qu'elles constituent une inscription à part correspondent bien à une nouvelle sorte de martyrs de la procession, ceux particulièrement chers aux Ravennates. Il faut bel et bien introduire une césure devant Vital, qui porte le premier A. Mais pour en revenir à la question posée au début de ce paragraphe, il est sans doute vain

– dans l'antique Césarée – avec des reliques ; une mosaïque occupant une place centrale dans le Mausolée de Galla Placidia représente son martyre ; l'archevêque de Ravenne Petrus Chrysologus a consacré au saint un sermon entier (135) où il insistait sur les *opes* et les *diuitiae* dont il a eu la charge.

²⁸ Il aurait été conservé par l'apôtre Pierre qui l'aurait transmis aux évêques romains. Notons qu'à la suite de L. MATEU Y SANZ, *Vida y martirio del glorioso español San Laurencio* (Bibl. Nacional, Madrid) qui aurait copié un manuscrit du VI^e siècle de Donatus, on raconte même que Laurent – d'origine espagnole (cf. Jacques de Voragine, après Jean Belet, dans la *Légende dorée*) – aurait envoyé le précieux vase à ses parents à Huesca. C'est de là qu'il serait passé, après maintes tribulations, dans la cathédrale de Valencia où on l'expose aujourd'hui.

²⁹ Et Justinien une patène.

³⁰ Bien que martyr à Thessalonique, Démétrius avait une église à Ravenne (LP 2). Vincent qui était d'Avila avait des reliques à Ravenne.

³¹ Dans le début de la procession, seul Cassien, nous l'avons vu, est d'une ville proche, Imola.

de se demander si ces lettres s'appliquent aux Ravennates ou à leurs chers martyrs. Les peuples sont à la fois les habitants et les martyrs de la région, eux tous dont le Christ a reconnu le témoignage et la foi en faisant donner par un ange le calice à l'évêque Jean.

Notre hypothèse apporte, nous semble-t-il, quelque lumière sur l'ordre choisi. Ainsi ce sont les saints les plus honorés à Ravenne et ceux, sauf exceptions, qui ont même subi le martyre dans des régions proches qui constituent la deuxième partie de la procession. Si on considère la théorie dans son ensemble, elle a donc donné une place éminente au protomartyr, Étienne, ce qui est normal, puis à l'évêque anti-arien, Martin, une place capitale à celui qui a préservé le calice, Laurent, à quelques martyrs particulièrement fameux, enfin aux nombreux saints chers à Ravenne qui sont regroupés comme les défenseurs de la véritable eucharistie.

Des deux hypothèses que nous avons faites, celle-ci nous paraît la plus solide. Il n'y a vraiment qu'une chose qui reste vraiment inexpliquée nous semble-t-il, c'est la présence de T là où nous attendrions -IS. Erreur du mosaïste ? Difficulté de terminer le mot en raison de la présence du *palatium* sur la mosaïque proche ? Introduction induite d'un T par tel ou tel successeur de l'évêque Agnellus qui n'aurait pas saisi l'importance de l'inscription ? Il est à noter que l'auteur du *Liber pontificalis* souligne toujours qu'un parfait lettré à Ravenne est *Graecis et Latinis literis eruditus* (LP 1 ; 120), ce qui signifie que nombreux étaient ceux qui ne maîtrisaient pas les deux langues...

D'autre part faut-il exclure, dans cette inscription, une visée anti-arienne ? Tout au contraire. Si le calice possède un tel rôle aussi bien à Saint-Vital qu'ici, c'est que les Ariens, sans rejeter l'eucharistie, vident largement de son sens la transsubstantiation. Dépourvu de divinité, le Christ peut-il détenir une égale présence dans la transformation miraculeuse ? Le prestige de cet acte rituel ne pouvait être le même chez ces « hérétiques ». C'est pourquoi l'impératrice et l'empereur ont tenu dans Saint-Vital à magnifier le vase sacré, c'est pourquoi le rappel de l'offrande du calice à Jean est capital à Saint-Apollinaire-le-Neuf.

Connaissant le goût des chrétiens pour les jeux de lettres (il suffira de rappeler $\iota\chi\theta\upsilon\varsigma$), on peut se poser une dernière question : l'inscription se suffit-elle à elle-même ou s'agit-il d'acronymes, où chaque lettre non seulement serait l'élément d'un des mots de l'inscription, mais serait aussi l'initiale d'un autre terme ? Certes, même les A, O, I, T pourraient peut-être (voir supra) donner lieu à une interprétation anti-arienne, ou pour le moins exprimer toute la grandeur du Christ. Mais comment les fidèles auraient-ils complété ces termes, les interprétations étant, nous l'avons vu, difficiles et discutables ? En revanche, surtout sous la forme que nous avons essayé de restituer, les Ravennates comprenaient sans nul doute très bien ces trois mots à la plus grande gloire de leurs saints, de leur église et de leur cité.

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Figure 1. Début de la procession.

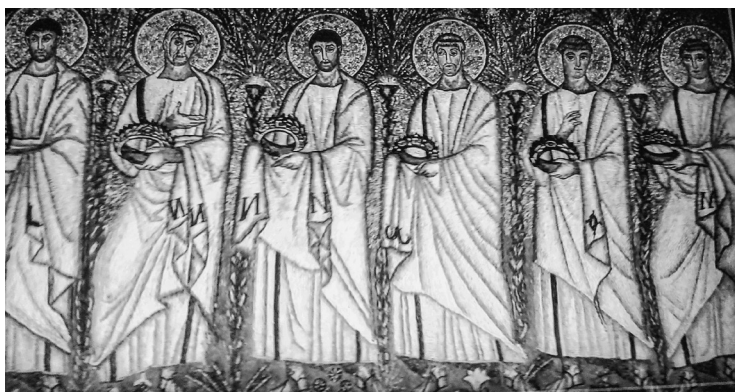


Figure 2. Début de la procession (suite).



Figure 3. L'inscription dans la deuxième partie de la procession.



Figure 4. L'inscription dans la deuxième partie de la procession (suite).



Figure 5. L'inscription dans la deuxième partie de la procession (suite).

***Tumidumque per amnem signa tulit* (BC 1.204-205): Water-Symbolism and Callimachean Poetics in Lucan's Rubicon and Rivers of the Flavian Epic**

The famous closing lines of Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo* (105-113) have established the large, open sea (πόντος) and the rushing, swollen river as the most emblematic expressions in Hellenistic poetics to symbolize epic poetry, the *ἄεισμα διηγεαῖς* of the *Aetia* Prologue (fr.1.1-5 Pf) containing stories about kings and heroes.¹ Likewise, the image of the 'Assyrian river' carrying much refuse of earth and filth on its waters (108-109 ποταμοῖο μέγας ῥόος ... πολλὸν ἐφ' ὕδατι συρφετὸν ἔλκει) is also assumed to bear some further metapoetic connotations referring to imitations of the traditional epic in general or Homer in particular.² Following a substantial number of critical works which have investigated the appropriation of the water symbolism in Augustan poetry,³ this paper will examine the 'programmatic' function of the flooding river imagery in imperial epic. While a similar discussion has already surrounded the Nemean episode of Statius' *Thebaid* especially, I shall concentrate my reading on the allusive effects of the Rubicon's flooding at the beginning of Lucan's *Pharsalia* and then I shall briefly look for comparable water-imagery, either confirming or extending my approach, in the *Argonautica* of Valerius Flaccus and Statius' epic. Eventually, it will be illustrated that these epicists do not allude simply to the common manipulations of the epic-river symbol in the texts of their Roman and Greek predecessors, but in essence 'adapt' them to the poetic, thematic and

¹ CALL., *h. Ap.* 105-113: ὁ Φθόνος Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπ' οὐατα λάθριος εἶπεν· / οὐκ ἄγαμαι τὸν ἀοιδὸν ὃς οὐδ' ὅσα πόντος αἰεῖδει. / τὸν Φθόνον ὠπλόων ποδί τ' ἤλασεν ὧδέ τ' εἶπεν· / Ἀσσυρίου ποταμοῖο μέγας ῥόος, ἀλλὰ τὰ πολλὰ / λύματα γῆς καὶ πολλὸν ἐφ' ὕδατι συρφετὸν ἔλκει. / Διοῖ δ' οὐκ ἀπὸ παντὸς ὕδωρ φορέουσι μέλισσαι, / ἀλλ' ἥ τις καθαρὴ τε καὶ ἀχράντος ἀνέρπει / πίδακος ἐξ ἱερῆς ὀλίγη λιβάς ἄκρον ἄωτον. / χαῖρε, ἄναξ· ὁ δὲ Μῶμος, ἔν' ὁ Φθόνος, ἐνθα νέοιτο. On water-symbolism in Callimachus see WIMMEL (1960), p. 222-223; KAMBYLIS (1965), p. 110-125; HOPKINSON (1988), p. 98-101; ASPER (1997), p. 109-125; JONES (2005) p. 54-56.

² On the association of the polluted river with imitation of the traditional epic poetry note especially WILLIAMS (1978), p. 85-89, 98-99; BING (1988), p. 55, n. 11. The most significant objections to such readings have been raised by CAMERON (1995), p. 403-407.

³ See in general HARRISON (2007) who has gathered all the necessary material. Most relevant is the monograph by JONES (2005) exploring the role of rivers as poetic devices and their narratological function in Roman literature, with special emphasis on Vergil's *Aeneid*.

structural purposes of their narratives which are often pervaded by a sense of delay in the evolution of warfare.

1. *Re-addressing Callimacheanism: the Rubicon's scanty waters become tumid*

The main text I shall discuss is Caesar's famous crossing of the Rubicon as narrated by Lucan in Book 1 of the *Bellum Ciuile*. After a rather extensive introduction (1-182), where the causes of the war are exposed to provide the basic historical background, Lucan finally has Caesar cross a number of boundaries in northern Italy, either natural or 'psychological'. Among the first, the crossing of the Alps, bearing as it does obvious reminiscences of Hannibal's invasion of Italy, represents a rather 'casual' means by which the poet embarks on his war narrative (183-185): *iam gelidas Caesar cursu superauerat Alpes / ingentisque animo motus bellumque futurum / ceperat*.⁴ In terms of dramatic significance and metaliterary potential however, what is more significant is the very next moment when the Roman general and his cavalry reach the banks of the Rubicon. Here Caesar is confronted with the image of the *Patria* which now stands for an emotional barrier he must overcome in addition to the natural obstacle of the river (185-186): *ut uentum est parui Rubiconis ad undas, / ingens uisa duci patriae trepidantis imago*.⁵ In one of the most challenging readings Masters, following the line taken by Thompson / Bruère, argues that the huge apparition of Rome reinforces the rather puny obstacle of a tiny stream (185: *parui Rubiconis*) in contrast to the hugeness of the enterprise (184: *ingentis ... motus*) while, at the same time, "emphasizes the sanctity of the Rubicon as a limit which no army may legally transgress".⁶ In my view, this idea is further justified on a metapoetic level as it is the Rubicon's 'textuality' that marks the river's programmatic function as a kind of 'generic boundary', the transgression of which will signal the 'official' beginning of the war narrative.

On a first reading the Rubicon's scanty stream, depicted again as such in v. 209 (*paruisque inpellitur undis*), appears simply as the accurate description of a modern-day version of the Pisciatello whose shallow waters were running

⁴ Cf. also LUC. 1.303-305; CIC., *Att.* 7.22.1, 8.13.1; LIV. 21.38.2, 41.15, 58.31; SIL. 4.748, 18.635; with MASTERS (1992), p. 1 and ROCHE (2009), p. 41, 204. On Caesar's portrayal as 'new Hannibal' in the *Pharsalia*, see also AHL (1976), p. 107-112; NARDUCCI (2002), p. 191-192, 207-217; RADICKE (2004), p. 171-175; DAY (2013), p. 117-118; TZOUNAKAS (2013), p. 512-513, n. 11.

⁵ On these lines, apart from the commentaries of GETTY (1940) and ROCHE (2009), see MASTERS (1992), p. 1-10, MORETTI (2007), NARDUCCI (1980), MAES (2005). The whole scene has been dramatised also in almost all extant historical sources as a point of transition from peace to war. Cf. especially VELL. PATER. 2.49.4; PLUT., *Caes.* 32; *Pomp.* 60; SUET., *Jul.* 31-33, with RONDHOLZ (2009).

⁶ MASTERS (1992), p. 1; THOMPSON / BRUÈRE (1968), p. 7.

along the boundary of Italy and Cisalpine Gaul in ancient times.⁷ However, the double reference to its meagre watercourse is perhaps too emphatic to ignore its possible meta-linguistic echoes, as *paruus* is one of the most distinguished ‘code-words’ for the ‘lesser genres’ in classical Roman poetry.⁸ Moreover, its juxtaposition with the preceding *ingentisque animo motus bellumque futurum* (184), which defines Caesar’s enormous enterprise, may in fact be pointing to a contrast of Callimachean flavour.⁹ One may recall here the similar connotations in Propertius’ confession at 4.1 that his poetic voice is too puny (58: *paruus in ore sonus*) to sing of Rome’s walls while his ‘flow of inspiration’ is, again, too small to match that of Ennius’, the poet *par excellence* of historic epic (59-61: *sed tamen exiguo quodcumque e pectore riui / fluxerit, hoc patriae seruiet omne meae. / Ennius hirsuta cingat sua dicta corona*).¹⁰ Against this background, the Rubicon’s scanty stream may seem too ‘lowly’ and non-epic either to oppose Caesar’s warlike spirit and the impending war narrative or, alternatively, to serve as a symbolic threshold leading into an epic story of ‘war, heroes and field marshals’. This idea is further supported by the description of the Rubicon’s source as ‘modest’ (213: *fonte cadit modico*) in the ecphrasis that follows (see below). While again reflecting actual physical features, this description may also be suggesting a certain generic tension if we recollect the holy fountain in Callimachus’ *Hymn to Apollo* from which the trickling flow of the finest poetry springs pure and unsullied (111-112: ἄλλ’ ἥτις καθαρὴ τε καὶ ἀχράντος ἀνέρπει / πίδακος ἕξ ἱερῆς ὀλίγη λιβάς ἄκρον ἄωτον). By contrast, a grandiose epic like the *Pharsalia* emerges instead from a noble fountain especially if one remembers Propertius’ 3.3 where the elegist, in a dream, is about to drink with his small mouth from the *magnis fontibus* that inspire epic in the Ennian tradition (5-6: *paruaque iam magnis admoram fontibus ora / unde pater*

⁷ Cf. STR. 5.10.227; CIC., *Phil.* 6.59; PLIN. 3.115; SUET., *Jul.* 31.2 with ROCHE (2009), p. 206 and GETTY (1940), p. 53-54. See also KARAKASIS (2011), p. 309.

⁸ See further SANTIROCCO (1986), p. 34-35 who demonstrates that such terms are applied more systematically on Horace’s *recusationes* in his *Carmina*, where adjectives like *paruus*, *tenuis*, *exiguus*, *gratus*, *dulcis* express the Callimachean notions of brevity, moderation and refinement in contrast with epic subjects and treatments characterized by opposite adjectives such as *magnus*, *ingens*, *tumidus*, *inflatus*, *turgidus*.

⁹ Note the famous HOR., *Carm.* 1.6.9: *tenues grandia* with SANTIROCCO (1986), p. 34-35 and cf. with WIMMEL (1960), p. 228 and JONES (2005), p. 62 the similar contrast especially in Vergil’s description of the river Mincius in the *Georgics* 3.14-15: *tardis ingens ubi flexibus errat / Mincius et tenera praetexit harundine ripas*. FEENEY (1991), p. 296 and ROCHE (2009), p. 27, 205 find this phrase to evoke Jupiter’s fury toward Lycaon in Ov., *Met.* 1.166: *ingentes animo et dignas loue concipit iras* where a slaughter is also involved. See also NARDUCCI (1980), p. 175, n. 3; MAES (2005), p. 10-11; KARAKASIS (2014), p. 293-294.

¹⁰ For a detail account of this elegy see DEBROHUN (2003), p. 1-24 who adduces all relevant bibliography on its Callimachean symbolism. For other parallels see WIMMEL (1960), p. 297-298. On Lucan’s familiarization with elegiac conventions and their customary ‘exploitation’ in the *BC* see McCUNE (2014) and CASTON (2011).

sitiens Ennius ante bibit). Thus, given the contrast between elegy and epic that Propertius' water-imagery articulates, the Rubicon's scanty stream appears either as too elegiac or, more broadly, as 'generically inappropriate' at the time Caesar and Lucan reach it in their joint epic project.¹¹

From this point of view, one might see the Rubicon not so much as an obstacle to Caesar's march but rather as a concept (scantiness) incompatible with the pretensions of the epic genre. Such an approach supplements Masters' further argument that Lucan is here erecting barriers "that are at once literary and artificial" in order to display his initial reluctance to allow the development of the war-narrative about a civil war he emphatically considers as a *nefas* in the prologue of his epic (*BC* 1.5).¹²

As mentioned above, in the same scene Caesar is confronted with Rome's apparition. At first glance, this appears to cause another generic inconsistency in the epic mechanism¹³ as, for Masters again, *Patria's* emotional appeal to Caesar and his men (190-191: *quo tenditis ultra? / quo fertis mea signa, uiri?*) suggests an "unmistakable allusion" to Propertius 4.1 – an idea that underpins my previous reference to this elegy – where Horos as an authority figure is warning the poet to desist from writing a grand poem.¹⁴ On the other hand, we should not fail to notice that Horos' *quo ruis* (Prop. 4.1.71) itself has intertexts in grander kinds of poetry, most particularly in the *Aeneid*, as Roche duly points out in his commentary.¹⁵ From this perspective, Lucan actually has *Patria* turn into epic mode the 'Callimachean sensibility' of the literary *reuocatio* in Prop. 4.1 so as to make Caesar and/or his reader 'generally conscious' that he is about to enter the war/epic zone. Thus, Rome's *uisa ... ingens imago* (186) evokes not only similar apparitions in the *Aeneid* where the protagonist is confronted in a dream with a relative or a god,¹⁶ but also the Scamander's confrontation with

¹¹ Here I am following MASTERS (1992), p. 5-7 who argues for Lucan's identification with Caesar in the sense that the first, as an epic poet, 'creates' the narrative of the civil war that the latter, as a protagonist, is waging.

¹² MASTERS (1992), p. 5-6.

¹³ On 'inconsistency' in Roman epic see in general the thought-provoking study of O'HARA (2007), especially p. 131-139 referring to Lucan's portrayal of Caesar.

¹⁴ MASTERS (1992), p. 7. Cf. PROP. 4.1.71: *quo ruis imprudens, uage, dicere fata, Properti?* Similarly the elegist's address to Rome to grant success to his epic (67-68: *Roma, faue, tibi surgit opus, date candida ciues / omina, et inceptis dextera cantet auis!*) seems to be reflected in Caesar's plea to favour his campaign (200: *Roma, faue coeptis*). On *coeptum* as a term for poetic endeavour cf. OV., *Ars.* 1.30, 2.38; *Met.* 1.2; VERG., *G.* 1.40; LUCR. 1.418 with MASTERS (1992), p. 8, n. 22.

¹⁵ ROCHE (2009), p. 206. Cf. particularly *Aen.* 12.313-314 (where there is a context of *discordia* very relevant to that in Lucan's text here): *quo ruitis? quaeue ista repens discordia surgit? / o cohibete iras!* See also HOR., *Epod.* 7.1: *quo, quo scelesti ruitis?*

¹⁶ Cf. *BC* 1.188-189: *effundens ... crines / caesarie lacera nudisque ... lacertis* ~ VERG., *Aen.* 1.589-591 (Venus to Aeneas); 2.270-280 (Hector's apparition to Aeneas); 2.772-789 (Creusa to Aeneas). However, as MASTERS (1992), p. 2 and ROCHE (2009),

Achilles in Homer's *Iliad* where the river-god asks the Greek hero to turn his fury away from his banks (*Il.* 21.211ff.). This passage, quoted only by Masters without further discussion, merits more consideration because, apart from reflecting perhaps on the Achillean qualities of Lucan's Caesar, it is in fact the only parallel also involving a waking vision of an anthropomorphic god.¹⁷ Furthermore, on the basis of a typical 'uariatio in imitando', it connects the Scamander with the Rubicon 'via Rome' as eventually both rivers struggle to drive the belligerent heroes away from their banks. The Homeric echoes become more evident once we focus on lines 21.234-236, 240-242 from the *Iliad*, which read as follows:

ὁ δ' ἐπέσσυτο οἰδματι θύων,
 πάντα δ' ὄρινε ῥέεθρα κυκώμενος, ὥσε δὲ νεκρούς
 πολλούς, οἳ ῥά κατ' αὐτὸν ἄλις ἔσαν, οὓς κτάν' Ἀχιλλεύς·

 δεινὸν δ' ἄμφ' Ἀχιλῆα κυκώμενον ἴστατο κῦμα,
 ὥθει δ' ἐν σάκει πίπτων ῥόος. οὐδὲ πόδεςσιν
 εἴχε στήριξασθαι.

But the river in a boiling surge was upon him and rose making turbulent all his waters, and pushed off the many dead men whom Achilles had killed piled in abundance in the stream; [...]. And about Achilles in his confusion a dangerous wave rose up, and beat against his shield and pushed it. He could not brace himself with his feet (transl. Lattimore).

As Achilles' killing frenzy chokes its waters with Trojan corpses, the Scamander surges in spate and engages in a battle to push Achilles away from its flow. Similarly, at the point Caesar resolves to stop any further delay and embark on war, it is the Rubicon that finally takes on Rome's role and performs the Scamander's part becoming suddenly rushing and swollen in "a last-ditch attempt to oppose the *ingentis motus*, where the *ingens imago* (sc. of Rome) had failed" (204-205): *inde moras soluit belli tumidumque per amnem / signa tulit propere*.¹⁸ The features shared by the two texts can be pursued further as the two protagonists, Achilles and Caesar, though arrogant and impervious to any pleas, experience the same kind of fear in their weary and trembling knees, even if in Caesar's case it is not the Rubicon, but the apparition of Rome that first

p. 205-206 note, there are notable differences that apply in Caesar's case. For the historical sources on this apparition, see n. 5.

¹⁷ MASTERS (1992), p. 2, n. 4. Cf. especially *Il.* 21.211-221: καί νύ κ' ἔτι πλέονας κτάνε Παίονας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς, / εἰ μὴ χῳσάμενος προσέφη ποταμὸς βαθυδίνης / ἀνέρι εἰσάμενος, βαθέης δ' ἐκ φθέγγατο δίνης· / ὦ Ἀχιλεῦ, περὶ μὲν κρατέεις, περὶ δ' αἴσυλα ῥέζεις / ἀνδρῶν· αἰεὶ γάρ τοι ἀμύνουσιν θεοὶ αὐτοί. / εἴ τοι Τρῶας ἔδωκε Κρόνου παῖς πάντας ὀλέσσαι, / ἔξ ἐμέθεν γ' ἐλάσας πεδίον κάτω μέρμερα ῥέζε· / πλήθει γὰρ δὴ μοι νεκρῶν ἐρατεινὰ ῥέεθρα, / οὐδέ τί πη δύναμαι προχέειν ῥόον εἰς ἄλλα δῖαν / στεινόμενος νεκύεσσι, σὺ δὲ κτείνεις αἰδήςλως. / ἄλλ' ἄγε δὴ καὶ ἔασον· ἄγη μ' ἔχει ὄρχαμε λαῶν.

¹⁸ MASTERS (1992), p. 2.

arouses *horror*.¹⁹ The ‘tumidity theme’ that eventually makes the Rubicon a ‘proper’ epic river is employed at length in an ecphrasis, when Caesar attempts to cross the river for a second time (*BC* 1.213–222):²⁰

*fonte cadit modico paruisque inpellitur undis
puniceus Rubicon, cum feruida canduit aestas,
perque imas serpit ualles et Gallica certus
limes ab Ausoniis disternit arua colonis.
tum uires praebebat hiemps atque auxerat undas
tertia iam grauido pluuiialis Cynthia cornu
et madidis Euri resolutae flatibus Alpes.
primus in obliquum sonipes opponitur amnem
excepturus aquas; molli tum cetera rumpit
turba uado faciles iam fracti fluminis undas.*

The ruddy Rubicon flows forth from a tiny spring and in summer’s burning heat moves with meagre waters; through the valley’s depths it snakes and separates the Gallic fields from the farmers of Ausonia, a fixed boundary. But at that time winter was strengthening it, its waters had been swollen by rainy Cynthia with laden crescent for three nights running and by the Alpine snows melted in the moist blasts of Eurus. First the cavalry is drawn up aslant the stream to take the waters’ force, then the remaining throng passes through the unresisting waters of the river broken now – an easy ford. (transl. Braund).

Once again actual topography and weather conditions provide a realistic account of the sudden change in the river’s movement thereby establishing a stark contrast to the previous image of a scanty stream in summer heat (214: *feruida ... aestas*). However, if we read between the lines, the winter period of Caesar’s enterprise (217: *hiemps*) allows the Rubicon not only to alter its summer condition but also to appropriate its waters for the epic standards originally set by Homer’s Scamander. Winter imagery in general, ice and melting snow in particular (219: *resolutae ... Alpes*), are explicitly connected with the *negotium* and the world of epic.²¹ In Ovid’s *Am.* 3.6, for example, a very similar river in spate is confronted with the poet-lover’s polemic for obstructing the path to his

¹⁹ Cf. LUC. 192–194: *tum perculit horror / membra ducis, rigueret comae gressumque coercens / languor in extrema tenuit uestigia ripa*, with *Il.* 21.246–248: *πίπτων ῥόος δ’ δ’ ἄρ’ ἐκ δίνης ἀνορούσας / ἤϊξεν πεδίοιο ποσὶ κραιπνοῖσι πέτεσθαι / δείσας*, and 270–271: *ποταμός δ’ ὑπὸ γούνατ’ ἐδάμνα / λάβρος ὑπαιθα ῥέων, κονίην δ’ ὑπέρεπτε ποδοῖν*.

²⁰ On the various interpretations of Caesar’s ‘second crossing’ see GOERLER (1976), p. 291–308 and MASTERS (1992), p. 2–3.

²¹ On the contrary, heat is associated with the bucolic landscape and the elegiac city-world. Cf. VERG., *Ecl.* 7.45–52, 10.22–23, 10.47–49; PROP. 1.8a.7–8; OV., *Am.* 1.5, 1.9, with KARAKASIS (2011), p. 57–59 and PAPANGHELIS (1989), p. 54–61. Most characteristically in *Am.* 1.9.7–16 the poet-lover in his erotic quest is humorously compared to a soldier who is confronted with many obstacles such as piles of snow (12: *congestas ... niues*), swollen winds (13: *tumidos ... Euros*), cold nights (15: *frigora noctis*), snow mingled with rain (16: *denso mixtas ... imbre niues*).

puella. In the most comprehensive assessment of this elegy, Barchiesi²² traced several elements of epic provenance, beyond the notably ‘anti-Callimachean’ nature of the river which is condemned for its muddy banks from the very beginning of the poem (1: *limosas ripas*). Most significantly, the snows that have melted from the near-by mountain making the river’s swollen waters roll on serve as a metaphor for loftier poetic registers than amatory themes.²³ The fact that a very similar ‘winter / epic landscape’ is evoked in the Rubicon’s epiphysis quoted above (216-219) lends support to the idea that the Rubicon becomes tumid and swollen to anticipate the enactment of the warfare and the impending war-narrative in Lucan’s epic.²⁴

On the other hand, the flood imagery might involve a kind of ‘post-Callimachean’ touch / modification, once we realise that the river with its rushing flow causes a slight delay (*mora*) in Caesar’s warlike plans and the war-narrative while its very flooding anticipates and provokes both (cf. 204: *inde moras soluit belli*). The very diction of v. 220-222 seems to indicate this metaliterary tension as words of epic prominence such as *rumpit* (221) and *fracti* (222), which point to the battling spirit and can be seen against the original Homeric background (and many similar in Greek and Roman epic), are combined with *molli* (221) which captures the easy crossing of the Rubicon by Caesar’s men in a previously Neoteric term, now (ironically) subject to revision.²⁵

The question of whether or not a further play (Hellenistic, Callimachean, Neoteric or otherwise) is being acted out by Lucan here might be approached if one elaborates on passages with similar diction and contextual probabilities. In fact, the Rubicon is not the only flooding river which, while struggling with its torrent to rise to epic standards, simply causes (or is implicated in) a short delay in the war-narrative. We might understand Lucan’s approach better if we read the Rubicon’s evolution from a little stream to a swollen river as another metamorphic event like many of those in *BC* 1 which have already been related

²² BARCHIESI (2001), p. 54-55.

²³ See OV., *Am.* 3.6.7-8: *nunc ruis adposito niuibus de monte solutis / et turpi crassas gurgite uoluis aquas*; 93: *fontis habes instar pluuiamque nivesque solutas*. Cf. also HOR., *Carm.* 4.2.5-8 where the rain-swollen river that rushes down the mountain represents the deep voice of Pindar: *monte decurrens uelut amnis, imbres / quem super notas aluere ripas, / feruet immensusque ruit profundo / Pindarus ore*.

²⁴ See also the fine observations by KARAKASIS (2014), p. 308-310.

²⁵ Even the Rubicon’s most distinctive feature, namely the ruddy nature of its waters (214: *punicus*), captured most characteristically by its very name, may have provided Lucan with a genuine topographic element which bears a metapoetic perspective. Though *punicus* cannot be pushed too far as it does not necessarily make the river’s waters filthy like those of Callimachus’ Assyrian river, nevertheless it could connote a contrast to Callimachus’ pure and unsullied ὁλήγη λιβάς springing from the holy fountain of finest poetry. See CALL., *h. Ap.* 111-112 quoted above. JONES (2005), p. 56-59 supplies a detailed account of similar springs and rivers in Augustan poetry which serve as symbols of inspiration according to Hellenistic principles.

to various episodes of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.²⁶ With regard to Lucan's particular fondness for anthropomorphic river-gods, as illustrated by the various allusions to Scamander's action in the *Iliad*,²⁷ most pertinent to our case is Achelous' activity at *Met.* 8.547-9.88. In this episode Achelous functions most prominently as a 'pretended' delayer of the epic action by hosting a banquet where he and others tell stories of Callimachean origin in distinctively epic mode such as the tale of Baucis and Philemon (*Met.* 8.618-724) and that of impious Erysichthon (*Met.* 8.728-878).²⁸ At the beginning of the narrative the river-god Achelous invites Theseus, an archetypal epic hero (we might recall here Achilles and Lucan's Caesar) to this feast, asking him to avoid any further engagement in war action. In order to force him to do so Achelous makes his waters rushing and swollen (*Met.* 8.547-559):

*interea Theseus sociati parte laboris
functus Erectheas Tritonidos ibat ad arces.
clausit iter fecitque moras Achelous eunti
imbre tumens: 'succede meis,' ait 'inclite, tectis,
Cecropide, nec te committe rapacibus undis:
ferre trabes solidas obliquaque uoluere magno
murmure saxa solent. uidi contermina ripae
cum gregibus stabula alta trahi; nec fortibus illic
profuit armentis nec equis uelocibus esse.
multa quoque hic torrens niuibus de monte solutus
corpora turbineo iuuenalia uertice mersit.
tutior est requies, solito dum flumina currant
limite, dum tenues capiat suus alueus undas.'*

Meanwhile, Theseus, having played his part in the united effort, turned back towards Athens, Tritonia's city, where Erectheus once ruled. But the River Achelous, swollen with rain, blocked his immediate path, and stalled his journey. 'Come under my roof, famous scion of Cecrops,' the river-god said, 'and do not commit yourself to my devouring waters. They are liable to carry solid tree-trunks along, in their roaring, and roll great boulders over on their sides. I have seen whole byres, near the bank, swept away, with all their livestock: and neither the cattle's strength nor the horses' speed was of any use. Many a strong man has been lost

²⁶ More specifically, critics have long noticed that Lucan displays the various causes of the civil war as metamorphic events that draw especially upon episodes from Book 1 of Ovid's epic. See further ROCHE (2009), p. 8, 26-27 and WHEELER (2002) who adduces a full-scale bibliography (p. 366-367) on Ovid's influence on the *Bellum Ciuile*.

²⁷ On Lucan's early flirtation with anthropomorphic gods in general, see FEENEY (1991), p. 270-272 with ROCHE (2009), p. 205.

²⁸ In most readings of the episode Achelous is regarded as a composite figure which is fully in tune with the nature of Ovid's idiosyncratic epic narrative, where multiple generic modes and stylistic registers converge. See further HINDS (1987), p. 19; BARCHIESI (2001), p. 50-55; TSITSIOU-CHELIDONI (2003), p. 339-361; MURRAY (2004), p. 230-232; JONES (2005), p. 67-69.

in the whirling vortices, when the torrent was loosed, after mountain snows. You will be safer to stay till my river runs in its normal channel, when its bed holds only a slender stream.' (transl. Kline).

Achelous appears here as trying to avert Theseus (549: *fecit moras eunti*) from committing himself to other bloody or warlike exploits after participating in the Calydonian Boar Hunt (*Met.* 8.260-546). Thus, he becomes swollen with rain (550: *imbre tumens*), while his waters are depicted as devouring (551: *rapacibus undis*) and turbulent (556: *torrens*, 557: *turbine ... uertice*) because of thaw in the mountains (556: *niuibus de monte solutis*). In other words, he lures Theseus away from his typical epicness towards Neoteric story-telling which is marked as a delay. On the other hand, when in spate Achelous is as epic as other rivers in spate.²⁹ Thus, if Ovid had presented Achelous as capable of both anti-Callimachean and Callimachean action, apparently the same claim could now be made in the case of Lucan's Rubicon as the river creates the same tensions by becoming swollen to postpone Caesar's warlike plans (204: *inde moras soluit belli tumidumque per amnem*) while, most significantly, its waters, increased by consecutive precipitations and snow melt (217-219: *hiemps atque auxerat undas ... et madidis Euri resolutae flatibus Alpes*), boost the epic-action. In both cases, the progress of the war-narrative seems altogether inevitable. Caesar and his men exhibit a noteworthy determination to "break the river's current" (220-222) and continue with their enterprise in proper epic mode, while the river-god Achelous, after the two 'Callimachean interludes' are narrated, will provide an autobiographical account of his duel with Hercules (*Met.* 8.879-9.88).

All the above might tell us something about Lucan's own negotiation with the water-symbolism, as he received it (or, rather, perceived it) from Greek and Roman literary tradition. In managing his own 'anxiety of influence', the Neronian poet seems to be playing around with river-imagery in a rather confident manner.³⁰ Following Ovid's self-conscious reading of river as a composite generic marker, Lucan 'invests' the Rubicon with an *intratextual* and *intertextual* potential by appropriating the characteristic swirling and flooding effect of warlike rivers, most notably the Scamander, while at the same time he does not miss the chance to leave a 'post-Callimachean' aside for his readers to discover. Puny or swollen, 'generically' appropriate or not, the Rubicon must eventually

²⁹ On such approaches see the bibliography in the previous note. For BARCHIESI (2001), p. 52-53, Ovid's rushing and swollen Achelous seems to be the latest addition to a catalogue of rivers which figure in Roman Neoteric poetry as symbols of the elevated and grandiose poetry of epic. Cf. PROP. 3.1.26-27 and the bloody and polluted Rhine in HOR., *Sat.* 1.10.37, 62 and PROP. 3.3.45. Achelous features also in Propertius' first 'Callimachean' elegy (2.34.31-34).

³⁰ Here and elsewhere I use the term 'anxiety of influence' as defined by BLOOM (1973).

conform to the demands of war-narrative and the conventions of the genre, in as much as Lucan chose to write a historic epic of horrendous deeds and war. Nevertheless, there is a sense of paradox: a river in epic-like spate ‘holds back’ war activity before it is subdued and the war narrative can evolve. From this point of view, the rather short *mora* the Rubicon causes to Caesar’s warlike plans might be taken as a characteristic symptom of Lucan’s ‘belatedness’ vis-à-vis the Callimachean and Neoteric tradition.

2. *Keeping in touch with Callimachus: rapidus and spumans Phasis in the Argonautica of Valerius Flaccus*

Let us see now how comparable water-imagery functions also as a metapoetic marker in the epics of Valerius Flaccus and Statius deploying again the concept of *mora* in the process of the war-narratives. In Books 1-4 of the Flavian *Argonautica* Jason and his comrades face the open sea with its numerous dangers and perils as the natural barrier par excellence on their voyage to Colchis, where a series of martial labours awaits them in the quest for the Golden Fleece (Books 6-8). Viewed from this angle, Valerius is the poet who literally “sings as much as the large sea”, to recall Pthonos’ words in the coda of Callimachus’ *Hymn to Apollo* (106: ὅσα πόντος ἀείδει). Water-imagery is interwoven with the governing concept of the entire epic, namely the opening of the seas by the first voyage, to be found in the very proem where Valerius mentions his topic (Arg. 1.1-4): *Prima deum magnis canimus freta peruia natis / fatidicamque ratem, Scythici quae Phasidis oras / ausa sequi mediosque inter iuga concita cursus / rumpere flammifero tandem consedit Olympo*. The fact that the double water-reference to the ocean straits (1: *freta peruia*) and especially to the Colchian river (2: *Phasidis oris*) is absent from the Hellenistic antecedent might tell us something about Valerius’ fondness for water-imagery.³¹ While the opened sea obviously looks forward to a subsequent confrontation between Europe and Asia, a river is presented once again as a kind of boundary that almost programmatically marks the transition to the epic/war-action as a result of the maritime path now opened.³² Furthermore, what is interesting is that also in Valerius’ war narrative a sense of *mora* pervades the expedition and, even though this is not caused by the Phasis’ rapid torrent (as happens with the Rubicon), the latter seems to be allusively connected with this delay. In particular, before we reach the actual warfare of Book 6 (the battle in Colchis where the Argonauts join Aeetes’ troops in a civil war against his brother Perses), the narrative of travel and adventure in the poem’s Odyssean first half is

³¹ Cf. APOLL. 1.1-4 with KLEYWEGT (2005), *ad loc.* and ZISSOS (2008), *ad loc.*

³² Cf. also Arg. 2.613-620, 4.211-213, 4.727-728, 8.395-398, with MANUWALD (2015), p. 11. On Valerius’ handling of geographical and topographical information in his epic, see MANUWALD (2013).

interspersed with stories that quite strikingly are recounted as a cause for *mora* / delay. This is particularly the case with the stopover at Lemnos (2.77-493) where the Argonauts are amorously received by the local women and Jason has a love affair with Hypsipyle that has been seen as an elegiac sloth in the epic narrative.³³ Similarly, Hylas' disappearance owing to Juno's machinations significantly prolongs the crew's stay in Mysia until Hercules is eventually left behind desperately seeking his lost companion (3.474-4.57).³⁴ After these breaks as well as the Cyzicus (2.627-3.461) and Bebrycia (4.99-343) episodes, where some minor contests take place, the water-symbolism is gradually applied to the narrative. More specifically, before the 'official' proem in the middle announcing the heroic battle-scenes about to take place at Colchis in Books 6-8 (Arg. 5.217-218: *incipi nunc cantus alios, dea, uisaeque uobis / Thessalici da bella ducis*), the wild setting of Colchis in which the Argonauts will engage in epic action seems to be mirrored in the words of Phineus. In his guidelines to Jason on the onward journey to Colchis, the seer mentions the Phasis as a rushing river that designates the Argonauts' ultimate destination (4.616: *sic demum rapidi uenies ad Phasidis amnem*). The idea that the Colchian river is thus depicted in order to match the proper epic standards (like Caesar's Rubicon) gains more credit at the point the Argonauts finally reach Colchis at Arg. 5.177-180: *sol propius flammabat aquas extremaque fessis / coeperat optatos iam lux ostendere Colchos, / magnus ubi aduersum spumanti Phasis in aequor / ore ruit*. These are the only instances in the whole epic where Valerius most conspicuously stresses the Phasis' rapid torrent (4.616) and depicts its violent flow as foaming (5.180).³⁵ The resonances of the 'great' stream of Callimachus' Assyrian river (*h. Ap.* 108: Ἀσσυρίου ποταμοῦ μέγας ῥόος) are enhanced

³³ See further FEENEY (1991), p. 321. For *mora* as a key tactic of elegiac lovers in order to indulge more in their love or to remain in the same place with their beloved cf. PROP. 1.10.6, 1.12.2, with McCUNE (2013), p. 185 who mentions further Pompey and Cornelia at LUC., *BC* 5.732-733. On Hypsipyle's role as an 'epic-delayer', note her similar status in Statius' *Thebaid*. See n. 47.

³⁴ For the concept of *mora* in the Lemnos episode, cf. Arg. 2.356: *deus ipse moras spatiumque indulget amori*; 377-380 (Hercules to Jason): *quid et ipse uiris cunctantibus adsit? / o miseri quicumque tuis accessimus actis! / Phasin et Aeeten Scythique pericula ponti / redde, ait, Aesonide!*; 407-408 (Hypsipyle to Jason): *ergo moras caelo cursumque tenentibus undis / debuimus?*; 3.450 (Hylas episode) *inde inceptis fieret mora*; 574-575: *quis tales impune moras casusue laborue / attulerit*; 599-600: *morae nec paruis Hylas, quamquam omnibus aequae / grata rudimenta, Herculeo sub nomine pendent*; 613-614: *iamque morae impatiens cunctantes increpat ausus / Tiphys et oblato monet otia rumpere cursu*; 626: *seu plures tolerare moras*; 656-657: *ad medium cunctamur iter. si finibus ullis / has tolerare moras et inania tempora possem*.

³⁵ Cf. Arg. 1.2 (Scythicus), 43 (*rigens*), 78, 87, 517 (*barbarus*); 2.379, 597; 3.306 (*remotus*), 501 (*altus*), 662; 4.545; 6.295, 319, 640, 641, 643; 7.220, 564. WIJSMAN (1996), p. 104 and SPALTENSTEIN (2004), p. 352 cite here APOLL. 2.1265: Φῶσιν τ' εἰρὸν ῥέοντα and Ov. *Met.* 7.6: *rapidus limosi Phasidos undas*. Both commentators, though, find the depiction of the river rather conventional, without seeing any meta-linguistic

further by the reference (only here) to the Phasis as *magnus* (5.179) which may also anticipate the war-action to take place in Colchis.³⁶ Moreover, the image of a foaming river bears similar connotations. In her prophecy to the Trojans in book 6 of the *Aeneid* the Sibyl predicts the terrible fights they will give beside *Thybrim ... spumantem* (*Aen.* 6.87) equating the river's hostility to that of Simois and Xanthus against the Greeks in the *Iliad*.³⁷ As an entry to Colchis, the Phasis is further comparable to the mouth of the Tiber with its *uerticibus rapidis* (*Aen.* 7.31) with which Aeneas is confronted as he sails up the Italian coast in *Aen.* 7.29-36, only a few lines before Vergil's famous second proem introducing the beginning of the war in Italy (7.40: *primae reuocabo exordia pugnae*).³⁸ Finally, later on in the epic, Vergil deliberately uses *spumabat* and *rapidus* for the overflowing (*abundans*) Amasenus in the story of the Amazon Camilla (11.532-596), at the point of the narrative where the Trojans launch their final attack (445-531) and the opponents are about to engage in fatal warfare (597-835).³⁹

Hence, also in Books 4-5 of the Flavian *Argonautica* the Phasis is described in the vein of Lucan's Rubicon as *rapidus* and *spumans* thereby anticipating the approaching warfare. Perhaps the only difference here is that the river's symbolic flooding does not cause but rather comes after a noticeable delay in the war process, as is the case with the Lemnos and Hylas episodes. This idea is well maintained until Book 5 where Jason himself perceives all these incidents as a delay to his 'major project', that is the quest for the Fleece through glorious

touch. However, even if epithets like *rapidus* and *spumans* are 'stereotypes', it is not accidental that Valerius is attaching them to Phasis only here in his epic.

³⁶ See further SPALTENSTEIN (2004), p. 352-353. Cf. also the depiction of the river Thermodon in equal terms at *Arg.* 5.121-122: *saeuaque Thermodon medio sale murmura uoluens, / Gradiuo sacer et spoliis ditissimus amnis*, where *murmura uoluens* and *spoliis ditissimus* may also endorse anti-Neoteric notions as the river is closely attached to Mars (*Gradiuo*). FEENEY (1991), p. 324 observes Valerius' Callimacheanism also in Phineus' reference to the Chalybes (along the land of whom the Argonauts will sail) as dreadful miners and metalworkers – which, accordingly, recalls the notorious activity of the Telchines in Callimachus' *Aetia* Prologue. Cf. also Vergil's mythical metal-workers, the Cyclopes, at *Aen.* 8.416-453 (with 419 *tonant* cf. *Arg.* 4.612 *tonat*; with 453 *massam* cf. *Arg.* 4.612 *massa* etc.), whose forge also can be read metapoetically as a place of epic making (note esp. 453 *in numerum*, of the rhythm of their work).

³⁷ Cf. *Aen.* 6.86-89: *bella, horrida bella, / et Thybrim multo spumantem sanguine cerno. / non Simois tibi nec Xanthus nec Dorica castra / defuerint* with JONES (2005), p. 29.

³⁸ Cf. *Aen.* 7.30-32: *hunc inter fluuiio Tiberinus amoeno / uerticibus rapidis et multa flauis harena / in mare prorumpit* with JONES (2005), p. 93-94.

³⁹ Cf. *Aen.* 11.547-549: *ecce fugae medio summis Amasenus abundans / spumabat ripis, tantus se nubibus imber / ruperat*, 562-563: *rapidum super amnem / infelix fugit in iaculo stridente Camilla*. On the function of the swollen Amasenus as a 'natural barrier' in this episode (cf. Caesar's crossing of the tumid Rubicon in Lucan) see further PASCHALIS (1997), p. 378-379; JONES (2005), p. 32-33.

marital deeds. This is particularly apparent in his ‘Caesar-like’ reaction (cf. Luc. 1.204: *inde moras soluit belli*) after Phineus’ prophecy at the end of Book 4 (627: *rumpitque moras tempusque timendi*) as well as in his expressed determination at the end of Book 5 to take up the challenge offered by Aeetes and fight against Perses (541-543: *ueniant super haec quoque fato / bella meo; non hunc parua mihi caede dolorem / quasque dedit luet ille* (sc. Perses) *moras*). After all, the foaming Phasis may symbolize Jason’s way of saying “*alea iacta est*”, that is to stop any further delay and get ready for war. Like Lucan, Valerius Flaccus ostensibly endorses Callimachean poetics to a certain extent only to counter-balance the sense of *mora* (a side-effect perhaps of his own ‘belatedness’ too) and to move his war-narrative forward.

3. *Muddy waters and filthy springs in Statius’ Thebaid*

McNelis was the first scholar to provide a thorough examination of the allusions to Callimachus’ poetry in the *Thebaid*, a work still lacking in the case of the two other epics discussed here.⁴⁰ The truth is that Statius, compared to his fellow epic poets, is the one who seems ever ready to ‘exhaust’ Callimachean norms and symbols in the course of his narrative. Most significantly, in several instances of Books 3-6, McNelis⁴¹ has already traced a meta-literary potential marking the prospect of delay (*mora*) as an alternative to war action, an idea which seems to be in tune with what we have seen already in the *Pharsalia* (*Patria* and *Rubicon*) and the *Argonautica* (*Hypsipyle*, *Hylas*, etc). Taking auspices about the coming war, Amphiaraus and Melampus ask the supreme god to contrive delays through unfavourable portents, should he not grant this conflict (3.495-496: *si prohibes, hic necte moras dextrisque profundum / alitibus praetexe diem*). Amphiaraus himself would soon be accused by Capaneus of causing a delay to the expedition with his stance (3.651: *quid uota uirum meliora moraris?*).⁴² In addition we see Venus, a goddess with a standard amatory orientation in myth and literature, asking Mars to postpone the clash between Eteocles and Polynices (3.272: *nec hae quicquam lacrimae, furibunde, morantur?*) because the two lovers are parents and protectors of the Theban household.⁴³ Once Venus’ emotional attempt to stop Mars from instigating the war

⁴⁰ McNELIS (2006), p. 8-13 and *passim*.

⁴¹ McNELIS (2006), p. 63ff.

⁴² See also McNELIS (2006), p. 79. Even the Argive king Adrastus points out to his daughter Argia that delaying the war might be profitable. Cf. *Theb.* 3.718-720: *tu solare uirum, neu sint dispendia iustae / dura morae: magnos cunctamur, nata, paratus. / proficitur bello*, with SNIJDER (1968), p. 264-265.

⁴³ On the allegorical implications of this meeting between Mars and Venus see FEENEY (1991), p. 368-371 and McNELIS (2006), p. 66-67. On the divine machinery in the *Thebaid* and the work’s principal motif of divagation see again FEENEY (1991), p. 338-340.

has failed (just like *Patria*'s admonitions failed to stop Caesar from crossing the Rubicon, we might say), the Argive soldiers prepare their weapons in a scene that draws heavily upon the *Aeneid*.⁴⁴ Their warlike tenor is aptly captured and amplified by a typical river simile in lines 671-677 which evokes similar comparisons in the *Iliad* (4.452-455, 5.87-92) and the *Aeneid* (2.304-308) with swollen rivers in a martial context.⁴⁵ McNelis' rewarding analysis of the passage has further highlighted the symbolic function of the raging (671: *rapidus torrens*) river simile as a metaphor for lofty poetic registers associated with epic battles which also point to the famous coda of Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo* (105-112).⁴⁶ However, he perhaps misses the chance of making the best out of the Callimachean parallel as one may also spot in the river's great surge and its turbulent watercourse carrying debris from houses, fields, cattle and men (674-675: *resonant permixto turbine tecta, / arua, armenta, uiri*, 676: *magno aggere*) τον πολλὸν ἐφ' ὕδατι συρφετόν of Callimachus' Assyrian river (*h. Ap.* 109). For our argument here, we might also recall Achelous' devouring waters which we saw carrying along tree-trunks and great boulders and sweeping away livestock and men at *Ov. Met.* 8.553-557 (quoted above). This actually makes Statius the only epic poet of his age to recast the 'debris-element' to water imagery depicting a river in high spate. The issue of whether such a choice suggests a metaliterary comment on his own reception of the Callimachean poetics becomes more urgent once we move on to the Nemean episode in Books 4-6 where scholars have detected another 'check' in the war-process.⁴⁷ As the Argives are marching through Nemea, Bacchus causes a drought to obstruct the way to Thebes, the city he protects (*Theb.* 4.680-687):

*tempus erat medii cum solem in culmina mundi
tollit anhela dies, ubi tardus hiantibus aruis
stat uapor atque omnes admittunt aethera luci.
undarum uocat ille deas mediusque silentum
incipit: 'agrestes, fluiuorum numina, Nymphae,*

⁴⁴ Cf. *Theb.* 3.580-591 ~ *Aen.* 6.626-640 with McNELIS (2006), p. 78.

⁴⁵ Cf. *Theb.* 3.671-676: *ut rapidus torrens, animos cui uerna ministrant / flamina et exuti concreto frigore montes, / cum uagus in campos frustra prohibentibus exit / obicibus, resonant permixto turbine tecta, / arua, armenta, uiri, donec stetit improbus alto / colle minor magnoque inuenit in aggere ripas.* See McNelis (2006), p. 79.

⁴⁶ McNELIS (2006), p. 79, n. 11.

⁴⁷ In Book 5 the war action is forestalled by the story of Hypsipyle whereas Book 6 is devoted to the Nemean Games the Argives instituted and performed to commemorate the death of her son Opheltes. For this reason, in the beginning of Book 7 Jupiter, being angry at the Nemean delay, sends Mercury to stir the army once again. Cf. *Theb.* 7.1-2: *atque ea cunctantes Tyrii primordia belli / Iuppiter haud aequo respexit corde Pelasgos*; 81: *nec longa moratus*; 139: *redimunt moras*; 400-401: *uix aut sopor illis / aut epulae fecere moram*; 464-465: *modo lucra morae, modo taedia uitae / attonitis*, etc. On Valerius' influence on Statius here see SMOLENAARS (1994), p. xxxvii and WUISMAN (2000), p. 17.

*et nostri pars magna gregis, perferte laborem
quem damus. Argolicos paulum mihi fontibus amnes
stagnaque et errantes obducite puluere riuos'.*

It was the season when, in the midday world, breathless Day draws Sun up to his summer height, when indolent haze hangs over panting fields, and all groves admit bright glare. Bacchus summoned the Water Sprites: 'Rustic Deities of Flowing Rivulets, Nymphs who make up most of my flock: perform this labor which we impose. For my sake, briefly plug with dust the springs of Argive rivers, their pools and meandering brooks' (transl. Joyce).

As we have seen already in the Rubicon's ecphrasis (Luc. 1.213-222) but also in Statius' simile of the raging river, it is winter time and snow melt that makes a river flowing in spate a proper symbol of epic and warfare.⁴⁸ In contrast, the summer noon and midday heat of Nemea here (680-682) appears rather incompatible with the epic landscape and the process of the battle narrative (cf. the Rubicon's scanty stream in summer heat at *BC* 1.214: *feruida ... aestas*). 'True' weather conditions and water topography become even more 'generically' inappropriate for epic registers, when Bacchus asks the Nymphs to plug with dust the springs of Nemean rivers through which the Argives will march so as to dehydrate the troops (686-687). Dust (687: *puluere*) seems to recast τὰ πολλὰ λύματα γῆς of the Assyrian river (Call., *h. Ap.* 109) in the streams of Nemea thereby filling them up with so much filth that all waters go dry and fountains, lakes and rivers are emptied leaving only a scorched mud (*Theb.* 4.700-701: *diffugere undae, squalent fontesque lacusque, / et caua feruenti durescunt flumina limo*). The fact, though, that dust here is used to block up the Nemean springs (687: *obducite*), whereas τὰ πολλὰ λύματα γῆς are swept down by the great flow of Callimachus' Assyrian river, may indicate that in the Nemean episode of the *Thebaid* (Books 4-6) the main epic action cannot evolve at all. Thus, by adding the 'debris element' to the simile of the raging river, Statius seems to accumulate (anti-)Callimachean terms and properties so as to create an *intratextual* tension between the generic expectation of warfare and the counter effects of *mora* which undermine the advancement of the war narrative. This direction further points to McNelis' similar conclusions when Hypsipyle shows the Argive soldiers a spring from which the water that is still flowing gets filthy with mud and foul with mire.⁴⁹ While I cannot but fully agree with this

⁴⁸ Cf. *BC* 1.216-219 (quoted above) ~ *Theb.* 3. 672: *exuti concreto frigore montes*. From this point of view, the river of Statius' simile might recall the Rubicon's function in Lucan as both rivers take action in winter time, becoming tumid and rushing because of the snow melt from nearby mountains, whereas there is an underlying sense of war delay in both narratives. See also KARAKASIS (2011), p. 310, n. 18.

⁴⁹ McNELIS (2006), p. 86-88. Cf. *Theb.* 4.823-828: *fremunt undae, longusque a fontibus amnis / diripitur; modo lene uirens et gurgite puro / perspicuus, nunc sordet aquis egestus ab imis / alueus; inde tori riparum et proruta turbant / gramina; iam crassus caenoque et puluere torrens, / quamquam expleta sitis, bibitur tamen*. McNelis finishes

perspective, I now tend to think that discussion should include not only Callimachus and the 'Callimachean poets' McNelis has in mind, but also Ovid and most of Vergil's epic successors. Consequently, the parching dryness of the Nemean channels as well as the muddying of the river Langia at *Theb.* 4.816ff. could further revisit the filthy river of Ovid's *Am.* 3.6 with increasing meta-literary tension compared to the Rubicon's ecphrasis in Lucan which, as seen above, also draws on the same elegy.⁵⁰

Saturated therefore with debris and mud, Statius' water-imagery may not simply suspend the very battle-narrative it anticipates as is, more or less, the case with the passages discussed here from the *Pharsalia* and the *Argonautica*. By depicting the Argive soldiers voraciously drinking from such filthy and dusty waters, Statius seems to drive the water imagery and the Callimachean poetics to a 'saturation point'. Thus, if the combination of the 'mora-element' with water-imagery in all readings so far has revealed a sense of 'belatedness' Vergil's epic successors felt towards Callimacheanism, the muddy streams of Nemea are appropriated in a way that rather expresses Statius' anxiety (himself being perhaps the last of the Flavian epicists) to declare his own 'belatedness' more straightforwardly by giving an ultimate twist against the whole background of river imagery in imperial epic.

4. Conclusion

To sum up, the present study is not meant as a systematic and comprehensive account of the water imagery and its symbolism in post-Vergilian epic, especially when many other relevant passages from the poets discussed as well as from Silius Italicus have not been included in the discussion due mostly to space limits.⁵¹ As is the case with these epics in general, the examination of all

his illuminating analysis thus: "The contrast between the pure, gentle stream (*lente, gurgite puro, perspicuus*) and the turbulence created by the soldiers (*sordet, turbant, crassus, torrens*) coheres with the water imagery that is often employed by Callimachean poets. Although martial interests prevail in this particular clash, it is nonetheless significant that different types of poetic approaches have been brought into conflict."

⁵⁰ Cf. *Theb.* 4.827: *iam crassus caenoque et puluere torrens*, with Ov., *Am.* 3.6.1-2: *amnis harundinibus limosas obsite ripas, / ad dominam propero – siste parumper aquas*; 8: *turpi crassas gurgite uoluis aquas*; 95-96: *aut lutulentus agis brumali tempore cursus, / aut premis arentem puluerulentus humum*.

⁵¹ Note especially the comments of SPALTENSTEIN (1986), p. 308-309 and JUHNKE (1972), p. 13-19 on the river imagery in *Punica* 4.520ff. where the Trebia is flowing in high spate to attack Scipio (573ff.) until he is burned up by Vulcan. Cf. also the rage of the swollen Aufidus at the battle of Cannae in *Pun.* 10.319-320: *sanguineus tumidas in campos Aufidus undas / eiectat redditque furens sua corpora ripis* with LITTLEWOOD (2017), p. 136-137 and see *Pun.* 14.143-147 with MARKS (2017), p. 473-474. From Statius' epic, see also *Theb.* 7.315-327 with McNELIS (2007), p. 112-115 and *Theb.* 9.315-521 with CHAUDHURI (2014), p. 213-214.

passages dealing with water imagery cannot always provide a cohesive interpretation but only reveal the multiplicity of the ways in which later poets receive and ring the changes on the traditional material. Nevertheless, it was possible to identify a number of cases where the appropriation of Callimachus' Assyrian river is used as a 'generic tag' which, typically for the genre, anticipates or points toward some piece of martial action or, by contrast, to its postponement. In particular, the variegated material examined from Lucan, Valerius Flaccus and Statius makes up a composite picture where the basic element in common is the on-going tampering with the Homeric and Callimachean river imagery. The other common element is the sense of metaliterary play which in turn throws up generic questions such as those McNelis first raised examining Callimachean poetics in the *Thebaid* of Statius. After all, this paradoxical combination of the epic river imagery and the effect of delay – which, as we have seen, is not restricted to Statius' epic – might be registered among those inconsistencies O'Hara convincingly detected in Roman epic, as part of the poets' self-reflexive endeavour to make their poetic voice more polyphonic being themselves confronted with an epic tradition which obeys a certain range of conventions and is generally meant to respect generic boundaries. Thus, though in all works discussed epic narrative eventually gravitates toward its main menu of war action, neither Lucan nor Flavian poets obviously offer an unremitting diet of simply war poetry.⁵²

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⁵² I am grateful to Professors Antony Augoustakis, Theodore Papangelis and Evangelos Karakasis as well as to the anonymous readers of *Latomus* for their comments and suggestions which have substantially improved the present article.

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Los crímenes de Nisa, reina de Capadocia (Justino 37.1.2-5)¹

En un enigmático pasaje (37.1.2-5), Justino cuenta que la reina Nisa de Capadocia (a la que él llama erróneamente Laódice) asesinó a cinco de sus seis hijos tras la muerte de su esposo, Ariárates V Eusebes, en la guerra de Aristónico:

Post haec regibus, qui aduersus Aristonicum auxilia tulerant, praemia persoluta: Mithridati Pontico Syria maior, filiis Ariarathis, regis Cappadociae, qui eodem bello occiderat, Lycaonia et Cilicia datae. Fidiorque populus Romanus in socii filios quam mater in liberos fuit; quippe hinc paruulis auctum regnum, inde uita adempta. Namque Laodice ex numero sex filiorum, quos uirilis sexus et Ariarathe rege susceperat, timens, ne non diutina administratione regni adultis quibusdam potiretur, quinque parricidalis ueneno necauit; unum paruulum sceleri matris cognatorum custodia eripuit, qui post necem Laodices (nam propter crudelitatem eam populus extinxerat) solus regno potitus est.

“Después de esto (sc. esta guerra) se recompensó a los reyes que habían prestado ayuda contra Aristónico: a Mitrídates del Ponto se le dio la Siria Mayor, a los hijos de Ariárates, rey de Capadocia, que había muerto en esta misma guerra, Licaonia y Cilicia. Y el pueblo romano fue más leal con los hijos de su aliado que la madre con sus propios hijos, pues aquél engrandeció el reino de los pequeños, ésta les quitó la vida. En efecto, Laódice, de los seis hijos varones que había tenido del rey Ariárates, mató a cinco con veneno parricida, temiendo no mantener la administración del reino en su poder mucho tiempo por ser algunos de edad adulta. A uno solo, todavía pequeño, la vigilancia de los parientes lo arrancó del crimen de la madre y, después de la muerte de Laódice (pues la nobleza la había matado por su crueldad), reinó él solo.”²

¹ Este artículo ha sido elaborado dentro del Proyecto FFI2015-63956-P: “Helenización en el Oriente grecorromano: procesos de asimilación y percepción en las culturas locales”, financiado por el Ministerio de Economía español. Agradezco las sugerencias del Prof. David Engels y de los anónimos expertos de *Latomus*, aunque cualquier error será de mi completa responsabilidad.

² Seguimos, con alguna variante, la traducción de CASTRO SÁNCHEZ (1995), p. 453-454. Hemos preferido traducir *populus* por “nobleza”, en consonancia con el contexto político de Capadocia, y teniendo en cuenta que para Justino el *populus* se diferencia de la *plebs*: véase por ejemplo JUST. 44.4.13; BALLESTEROS PASTOR (2013b), p. 162, 245; *vide infra* n. 35. Sobre la colaboración de Ariárates en esta guerra, véase además STR. 14.1.38; EUTR. 4.20; OROS. 5.10.2; cf. FEST., *Breu.* 11.4. El error de Justino sobre el nombre de la reina ya fue notado por REINACH (1888), p. 48 y pl. II, 14, basándose en la evidencia numismática. Véase además OGIS 352 y, entre otros, DE CALLATAÿ (1997),

Ante la falta de otras evidencias que confirmen o desmientan este hecho sangriento, los investigadores modernos han transmitido la noticia del *Epítome* sin plantear posibles comentarios, o se han mostrado abiertamente escépticos respecto a la veracidad de este episodio³. La muerte de los príncipes era un hecho factible, aunque las intenciones de la reina al asesinar a sus hijos quedaban como un aspecto difícil de explicar. En este trabajo nos proponemos plantear la hipótesis de que, ante la muerte del monarca de Capadocia, Nisa hubiera tramado un plan para que el país pasara a manos de Antíoco VII Sidetes, que en aquel momento estaba tratando de engrandecer su imperio⁴.

La primera cuestión a resolver es la veracidad del relato de Justino. Sabido es que el *Epítome* contiene un buen número de datos erróneos, y por tanto podríamos pensar que esta historia sobre la corte capadocia fuera falsa⁵. De hecho, la muerte de los príncipes a manos de su madre podría ser considerada una reminiscencia trágica, análoga en parte a los crímenes de Medea⁶. Sin embargo, contamos con una prueba numismática, que sería una moneda en la que aparece Nisa como reina regente junto a su hijo menor, el futuro rey Ariárates VI⁷. Lejos de tratarse de una evidencia contradictoria con el relato de Justino, consideramos que esta moneda confirma la regencia de Nisa tras la muerte de sus otros hijos, ya que no sabemos en qué fecha fue descubierta y ejecutada esta reina. Por otro lado, está bien atestiguada la intervención de

p. 189; HENKE (2005), p. 74; SIMONETTA (2007), p. 32; SAVALLI-LESTRADE (2015), p. 201, n. 107. Una hija de Ariárates VI se llamó igualmente Nisa: MEMN., *FGrHist* 434 F1, 22.5; GRAN.-LIC. 35 p. 30 FLEMISCH. Sobre el interés por las mujeres “activas” en el *Epítome*, véase COMPTON (2002) y EMBERGER (2008); aunque Justino muestra una actitud negativa hacia las mujeres que toman parte en asuntos políticos: MCAULEY (2016), p. 186. Sobre la condena de los parricidios en el *Epítome*, véase VAN WICKEVOORT CROMMELIN (1993), p. 302-304; BALLESTEROS PASTOR (2013b), p. 50, 171.

³ Admitiendo a Justino, véase REINACH (1890), p. 53; DE CALLATAÏ (1997), p. 188-189; SIMONETTA (2007), p. 60; LEBRETON (2011), p. 198; BALLESTEROS PASTOR (2013a), p. 90; SAVALLI-LESTRADE (2015), p. 201. Contra la veracidad de este pasaje se aducen las dracmas en que aparece Nisa junto a su hijo Ariárates VI [véase n. 1]: FACELLA (1999), p. 155-156; MICHELS (2009), p. 232, n. 1213. FERGUSON (1907), p. 402, propone que los príncipes hubieran fallecido por una enfermedad. Algunos investigadores omiten cualquier alusión a estos asesinatos: véase MCGING (1986); MASTROCHINQUE (1999). REINACH (*loc. cit.*) comparó este crimen con la muerte de Seleuco V, a manos de su madre Cleopatra Tea: JUST. 39.1.9; APP., *Syr.* 68-69.

⁴ Sobre Antíoco VII, véase en general BEVAN (1902), p. 236-245; BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ (1913), p. 370-384; WILL (1967), p. 344-349; EHLING (2008), p. 184-205 y *passim*.

⁵ Sobre los errores en el *Epítome*, véase BALLESTEROS PASTOR (2009); (2013b), p. 55-61 y *passim*.

⁶ El mito de Medea es citado por Cicerón (*Pomp.* 22) para aludir a la huida de Mitridates por el Ponto Euxino. Sobre aspectos trágicos en los relatos sobre las Guerras Mitridáticas, véase BRAUND (1994), p. 12-13 y MURRAY (2011), p. 59-60. El envenenamiento fue tan frecuente en las cortes helenísticas que en algunas ocasiones podría ser considerado un posible *topos* literario: véase COŞKUN (2016), p. 118.

⁷ Vide *supra* n. 2 y 3.

diversas reinas helenísticas en crímenes de palacio, por lo que el caso que estamos tratando no sería ni mucho menos una excepción⁸. Con respecto al error del *Epítome* sobre el nombre de Nisa, quizás pueda atribuirse al propio Justino. En este libro de las *Historias Filípicas* y en el siguiente aparecerían tres mujeres reales llamadas Laódice: por un lado la madre de Mitrídates Eupátor, por otro su hermana y primera esposa, y finalmente otra de sus hermanas, que se casó precisamente con Ariárates VI de Capadocia⁹. Por lo tanto, es factible que hubiera existido una confusión a la hora de redactar el *Epítome*.

La fuente concreta de este pasaje es desconocida, igual que ocurre con el resto de la obra de Trogo¹⁰. No obstante, podemos considerar que habrían existido unas crónicas sobre la historia de Capadocia y sus reyes, de las que se habrían tomado datos para las *Historias Filípicas*. Una muestra de estos relatos sería el célebre excurso de Diodoro Sículo referido a la historia de la dinastía Ariarátida hasta Ariárates V (163-130 a.C.), que habría tendido a legitimar a este rey frente a su hermano y rival Orofernes¹¹. Del mismo modo, se ha considerado que el *Breviario* de Festo habría recogido noticias de esas crónicas de la corte capadocia, que habrían pervivido a lo largo de los siglos¹². Puesto que, como hemos defendido, Trogo tomó como fuente principal una historia universal compuesta en la corte de Armenia, habría que tener en cuenta el parentesco de Arquelao I de Capadocia con los Artaxiadas, y por tanto un posible trasvase de información entre los palacios de ambos reinos¹³. Es significativo que en el

⁸ Véanse los casos estudiados por SAVALLI-LESTRADE (2003, 2015); CANEVA (2013); COŞKUN (2016); BARTLETT (2016); MCAULEY (2016).

⁹ Es cierto que Justino habla en este pasaje de la cesión a Mitrídates V de Siria Mayor, en lugar de Frigia, que es lo correcto, cf. BALLESTEROS PASTOR (2013b), p. 237. Sobre la esposa de Eupátor, cf. JUST. 37.3.6; 38.1.1; VAL.-MAX. 1.8 ext.13; y posiblemente *IDélos* 1568; PORTANOVA (1988), p. 308-310 y BALLESTEROS PASTOR (2013b), p. 154-155. La madre del rey habría aparecido en el libro XXXVII de Trogo, pero no se la nombra en el *Epítome*: sobre esta reina, cf. MEMN., *FGrHist* 434 F1, 22.2; BALLESTEROS PASTOR (2014). Sobre la reina de Capadocia, véase JUST. 38.1.1, 38.1.3-5; MEMN., *FGrHist* 434 F1, 22.1; *OGIS* 345; BALLESTEROS PASTOR (2013b), p.171-177. Hemos planteado la posibilidad de que algunos de los errores presentes en Justino pudieran deberse al uso de la memoria por parte del autor o autores de la fuente de Trogo: BALLESTEROS PASTOR (2015), p. 78.

¹⁰ Sobre las fuentes de Trogo, véanse entre otros RICHTER (1987); VAN WICKEVOORT CROMMELIN (1993), p. 21-28; YARDLEY / HECKEL (1997), p. 30-34; BALLESTEROS PASTOR (2013b), p. 20-46 y *passim*; BORGNA (2013), p. 10-12 y *passim*.

¹¹ DIOD. SIC. 31.19. LEBRETON (2011), p. 202, ha establecido una serie de fases en la elaboración de esa crónica que llegarían hasta la época de Arquelao I, proponiendo incluso una posible influencia pónica para desacreditar el reinado de Ariobarzanes I.

¹² RAIMONDI (2006).

¹³ Sobre el origen oriental de la fuente de Trogo, véase BALLESTEROS PASTOR (2013b), p. 20-46 y *passim*. Cf. los matices de TRAINA (2016), p. 119. Sobre Arquelao y los Artaxiadas, véase *RG* 27.2; cf. JOSEPH., *AI* 1.476; BALLESTEROS PASTOR (2013b), p. 29.

citado texto de Diodoro aparece igualmente criticada la reina Antíoquis, hija de Antíoco III y madre de Ariárates V y Orofernes, a la que se acusa de haber llevado una vida promiscua antes de su matrimonio con Ariárates IV. Podríamos por tanto plantear que hubiera existido en esas crónicas una cierta tendencia contraria a la influencia seléucida en Capadocia, que quedaría también reflejada en el pasaje de Justino que estamos tratando¹⁴.

En efecto, es posible que Nisa también hubiera sido una princesa seléucida¹⁵, lo que explicaría su interés por colaborar con Antíoco Sidetes. Resulta difícil considerar que esta reina de Capadocia hubiera pertenecido a otras dinastías: no tenemos noticia de que hubiera sido atálida, y de hecho no conocemos ninguna hija de Éumenes II o Átalo II. Tampoco podría ser una princesa bitinia, pues sabemos que Ariárates V ayudó a Átalo II contra Prusias II¹⁶. Una opción posible sería considerar que Nisa hubiera sido hija de Farnaces I del Ponto¹⁷, pero esto se contradice con el hecho de que la misma nobleza capadocia que dispuso la muerte de esta reina habría favorecido posteriormente el matrimonio del joven Ariárates VI con Laódice del Ponto, hija de Mitrídates V Evérgetes, que tiene lugar hacia el 125 a.C.¹⁸.

El parentesco entre la dinastía de los Ariarátidas capadocios y la de los Seléucidas venía ya desde mediados del siglo III a.C., cuando Ariárates II casó a su hijo, el futuro Ariárates III, con una hija de Antíoco Teos. A su vez, como hemos visto, este rey capadocio desposó a su hijo Ariárates con Antíoquis, hija de Antíoco III¹⁹. Ariárates V, hijo de este matrimonio, se habría desposado probablemente dos veces con sendas princesas seléucidas. El primer enlace habría tenido lugar cuando Ariárates aún no había subido al trono: Polibio nos informa de un príncipe llamado Demetrio, que mandaba los ejércitos capadocios en el 155/154 a.C., lo que indicaría que en aquel momento dicho personaje ya habría alcanzado la edad a la que los persas podían ir a la guerra, esto es, 20 años²⁰.

¹⁴ DIOD. SIC. 31.19.7. Sobre el tono antiseléucida en diversos pasajes de Justino, véase COŞKUN (2016), p. 125-127.

¹⁵ SEIBERT (1967), p. 115 y MICHELS (2009), p. 312.

¹⁶ PLB. 33.12.1; 33.13.3.

¹⁷ FERGUSON (1907), p. 402-404; MATTINGLY (1997), p. 139; SAVALLI-LESTRADE (2015), p. 201.

¹⁸ Sobre esta reina, *vide supra* n. 9.

¹⁹ DIOD. SIC. 31.19.6-7; PORPH., *FGrHist* 260 F32.6; JUST. 27.3.7; APP., *Syr.* 5; STR. 12.1.2; cf. *OGIS* 352; REINACH (1890), p. 53, 90; SEIBERT (1967), p. 56, 64-65, 114; DE CALLATAÏ (1997), p. 188, n. 21; HENKE (2005), p. 51-52; MICHELS (2009), p. 32, 312; MUCCIOLI (2011), p. 87; SAVALLI-LESTRADE (2015), p. 200-201. Se ha planteado que Antíoco IV se hubiera casado con una princesa capadocia, hija de Ariárates IV y Antíoquis: GÜNTHER (1995), p. 54-55; pero esta hipótesis no es admitida: MITTAG (2006), p. 45 con n. 63.

²⁰ PLB. 33.12.1; 33.13.3; GÜNTHER (1995), p. 59; cf. MICHELS (2009), p. 312, n. 1627. Sobre la edad de los persas para combatir, véase STR. 15.3.19; cf. HDT. 1.136.2; 209.2. La mayoría de edad persa es establecida por Estrabón (15.3.18) en los 24 años.

Hacia 161/160 a.C., Demetrio I de Siria ofreció a Ariárates la mano de su hermana, pero el rey capadocio rehusó para evitar posibles reticencias por parte de Roma²¹. Ello indica que en aquel momento Ariárates habría enviudado de su primer matrimonio. Posteriormente, este monarca se habría casado con Nisa, la protagonista del relato de Justino.

Ariárates V murió ayudando a los romanos contra Aristónico, probablemente en los primeros meses del año 130 a.C.²². Ante un trono vacío, y con una reina regente de la casa seléucida, Antíoco Sidetes podía reclamar legítimamente el reino en virtud de su parentesco con la dinastía capadocia. Para ello, era necesario eliminar a los hijos de Ariárates²³. Nisa debió emprender la tarea, pero no pudo acabar con uno de los príncipes, todavía menor de edad, que pasaría a reinar posteriormente bajo el nombre de Ariárates Epífanés Filopátor²⁴. La prematura muerte de Antíoco en el 129 a.C. debió alterar los planes de Nisa, quien,

Jenofonte (*Cyr.* 1.2.8-9) la sitúa en los 26 o 27. Según el diálogo *Alcibíades* 1.121c., atribuido a Platón, las fases de la educación persa sumaban 21 años, lo que unido al hecho de que los persas comenzaban su educación a partir de los cinco años (HDT. 1.136.2; STR. 15.3.17), implicaría una mayoría de edad a los 26. Según HDT. 1.136.2, la educación era desde los cinco hasta los 20 años, aunque en 1.209.2 este autor afirma que los persas aún no podían ir a la guerra con esa edad. Este criterio para la mayoría de edad existía en la corte pónica, pues Mitridates Eupátor toma el poder hacia el 110 a.C., con 23 años, lo que califica Salustio (*Hist.*, fr.2.75M) como *extrema pueritia*: véase BALLESTEROS PASTOR (2013b), p. 83-84. No hay motivos para pensar que Capadocia, en donde la tradición irania estaba fuertemente arraigada (cf. STR. 15.3.15), no siguiera la misma pauta: según hemos propuesto, Ariárates VII alcanzó la mayoría de edad hacia el 100/99 a.C., teniendo en cuenta que sus padres se habían casado en el 125 a.C.: BALLESTEROS PASTOR (2013b), p. 90.

²¹ JUST. 35.1.2; DIOD. SIC. 31.28; SEIBERT (1967), p. 69 y 115. Algunos investigadores propusieron que la primera esposa habría sido Laódice, hermana de Demetrio I y viuda de Perseo, y que Ariárates la habría repudiado después, aunque esto no concuerda con la cronología que hemos propuesto: véase GÜNTHER (1995), p. 59; EHLING (2008), p. 139; cf. MICHELS (2009), p. 312 con n. 1627.

²² JUST. 37.4.1-5. No conocemos el momento concreto de la muerte del rey. La fecha del 130 vendría justificada por la hipótesis de que Ariárates hubiera muerto en la misma batalla en que pereció P. Licinio Craso Muciano, a principios de ese año: REINACH (1890), p. 90, n. 1; DE CALLATAÏ (1997), p. 188; SIMONETTA (2007), p. 32, 53, 114. Esta batalla es situada a finales del 131 por Justino (36.4.8), pero Velejo (2.4.1) llama procónsul a Craso, con lo que estaríamos en el año siguiente: COARELLI (2005), p. 215-216.

²³ Posiblemente, el príncipe Demetrio citado por Polibio (*supra* n. 20) habría muerto con anterioridad.

²⁴ La fecha de subida al trono de Ariárates VI es discutida. Algunos autores proponen el 125 a.C.: REINACH (1890), p. 90, n. 3, 476; MØRKHOLM (1969), p. 28; BALLESTEROS PASTOR (2013b), p. 87-91, 95. Mientras, otros plantean el 130 a.C.: DE CALLATAÏ (1997), p. 186-192; SIMONETTA (2007), p. 60, 67; o incluso el 118/7: KRENGEL (2011); SAVALLI-LESTRADE (2015), p. 201. Un príncipe menor de edad bajo regencia de su madre podía tener oficialmente el título de rey: cf. *IDélos* 1560, 1561, en relación con Mitridates Eupátor.

por su parte, pudo haber seguido conspirando con Demetrio II, hermano de Antíoco, que había sido liberado por los partos²⁵. Pero al mismo tiempo un sector de la nobleza capadocia, contrario al dominio seléucida y que contaba seguramente con la mirada favorable de Roma, intervino en defensa del joven príncipe Ariárates, que como hemos visto poco después se casaría con Laódice, hija de Mitrídates Evérgetes²⁶. Este matrimonio tendía a reforzar la independencia del reino capadocio frente a las ambiciones de los Seléucidas.

Apenas si tenemos pruebas para apoyar nuestra hipótesis, aparte de la coincidencia cronológica. No obstante, hay un indicio muy significativo, como serían unos tetradracmas hallados en Capadocia y Armenia con el rostro y el nombre de Antíoco VII Sidetes. Estas monedas llevan en el reverso la imagen de Atenea Nicéfora, característica de las acuñaciones reales de Capadocia, así como unas marcas de control que coinciden con las de las emisiones monetarias de este reino. Incluso hay un tetradracma que lleva el nombre de Ariárates VII Filómétor, pero el retrato del mencionado rey seléucida. Se considera por tanto que estas monedas de Antíoco habrían sido acuñadas en la propia Capadocia²⁷.

Los especialistas no han encontrado una explicación satisfactoria para el origen de estos tetradracmas, que se siguieron emitiendo hasta el reinado de Ariobarzanes I *Philorhomaïos* (c. 95/94-65/4 a.C.). La hipótesis más plausible apunta a un deseo por atraer para el ejército capadocio a tropas que habrían combatido previamente bajo las órdenes de Antíoco Sidetes, un monarca reverenciado por estos soldados. Con posterioridad, el uso de estos tetradracmas habría seguido teniendo como finalidad el pago de mercenarios: una moneda que circulaba internacionalmente habría sido de particular utilidad, mientras que las acuñaciones reales capadocias resultarían menos atractivas para los soldados extranjeros²⁸. Del mismo modo, puesto que los reyes capadocios apenas emitiesen tetradracmas, estas monedas habrían podido tener una utilidad fiscal²⁹.

Por su parte, Krenzel y Lorber, basándose en nuevos hallazgos, propusieron una explicación particular para el origen de estas extrañas emisiones monetarias en Capadocia: en vista de que los primeros tetradracmas de Antíoco VII aparecían junto con monedas del último año de reinado de Ariárates V, estos especialistas plantearon que los citados tetradracmas se habrían debido a un pago de Demetrio II a los capadocios, destinado a evitar que éstos se apropiaran del

²⁵ Sobre la liberación de Demetrio II, véase JUST. 39.1.1; DIOD. SIC. 34/35.15; cf. APP., *Syr.* 68; BEVAN (1902), p. 247; EHLING (2008), p. 205.

²⁶ Este sector estaría encabezado por un noble llamado Gordio: JUST. 38.1.1, 6, 10; 2.5; 3.2; 5.9; PLU., *Sull.* 5.3; APP., *Mith.* 65; PORTANOVA (1988), p. 268-271; BALLESTEROS PASTOR (1996), p. 60-65, 194-195; ID. (2013b), p. 173-175, 245. *Vide infra* n. 41.

²⁷ LORBER / HOUGHTON / VESELÝ (2006); KRENGEL / LORBER (2009). Sobre el mencionado tetradracma con el nombre de Ariárates VII, véase LORBER / HOUGHTON / VESELÝ (2006), p. 49, 62 n.º 2.

²⁸ LORBER / HOUGHTON / VESELÝ (2006), p. 58-59; KRENGEL / LORBER (2009), p. 70-71.

²⁹ LORBER / HOUGHTON / VESELÝ (2006), p. 58-59.

territorio de Cilicia que Roma había cedido a los hijos de Ariárates³⁰. Esta hipótesis resulta difícil de admitir porque sería insólita una compensación económica para evitar el cumplimiento de una medida dictada por Roma, y también es difícil creer que los Seléucidas intentaran alterar las fronteras establecidas en el tratado de Apamea.

En definitiva, los especialistas sospechan que habría existido una relación de Antíoco VII con Capadocia, pero no aciertan a concretar sus circunstancias ni su alcance. Por tanto, consideramos que esta evidencia numismática serviría para apoyar nuestra reconstrucción de los acontecimientos que sucedieron en la corte de Mazaca tras la muerte de Ariárates V. Como hemos visto, Krenzel y Lorber notaron que las monedas capadocias de Antíoco VII se empezaron a emitir durante la regencia de Nisa, en un momento de especial debilidad para el reino. Estas acuñaciones pudieron haber estado precedidas de una importación a gran escala de monedas genuinas del propio Antíoco. Difícilmente se podría pensar que este rey seléucida pretendiera ayudar a Ariárates V contra Aristónico: por lo tanto, es plausible considerar que habría una relación entre el comienzo de la difusión de las monedas capadocias de Antíoco Sidetes y la muerte de Ariárates, y que la actuación de la reina Nisa habría estado vinculada a los planes del rey seléucida³¹. Entre el fallecimiento de ambos monarcas pasó solamente un año, pero este periodo de tiempo habría podido ser suficiente para la eliminación de los príncipes capadocios que narra Justino (o al menos de algunos de ellos, que ya eran mayores de edad)³².

La pervivencia del rostro de Antíoco en las acuñaciones a lo largo de varias décadas resulta difícil de justificar, pero se ha propuesto como ejemplo análogo el caso de las monedas de Alejandro emitidas tras su muerte, que sirvieron para pagar a mercenarios tracios³³. Del mismo modo, podríamos pensar en las monedas con la efigie de Lisímaco que fueron acuñadas en algunas ciudades del Euxino noroccidental durante el reinado de Mitrídates Eupátor, a pesar de que uno de los aspectos de la propaganda del rey pónico fue exaltar que sus dominios nunca habían sido sometidos ni por Alejandro ni por los Diádocos. Según

³⁰ KRENGEL / LORBER (2009), p. 70.

³¹ KRENGEL / LORBER (2009), p. 68-70.

³² Ariárates V muere probablemente a principios del 130 a.C. (*supra* n. 22). Antíoco Sidetes muere al año siguiente: según Justino (38.10.8-10) fue en invierno; según Diodoro Sículo (34/35.15) fue en primavera. Si, como afirma Justino, algunos príncipes capadocios eran entonces mayores de edad, Nisa debió haberse apresurado a eliminarlos, aunque los demás pudieron haber muerto más tarde, como supuso REINACH (1890), p. 53, n. 1.

³³ LORBER / HOUGHTON / VESELÝ (2006), p. 59: "The presence of this coinage in Cappadocian hoards suggests some unknown link between the two kingdoms during his lifetime [*i.e.* de Antíoco VII]. (...) That this posthumous coinage was issued by a foreign state, rather than his own heirs, comes as a surprise, but the phenomenon of the late posthumous Alexanders provides a sort of parallel". Sobre las monedas póstumus de Alejandro, véase por ejemplo PAUNOV (2015), p. 270-271.

ha propuesto De Callatay, el objeto de estas emisiones con los tipos de Lisímaco habría sido igualmente el pago de tropas mercenarias reclutadas por Eupátor en esa región³⁴. En lo que se refiere a Capadocia, el Gran Rey Antíoco VII dejó tras su muerte de ser un peligro para la estabilidad política del reino, y quedaría en la memoria como un soberano famoso por su audacia: este prestigio se desprende del mismo texto de Justino, que como hemos visto debió haber reflejado información derivada de fuentes anatólicas³⁵.

Antíoco Sidetes tenía fundadas razones para confiar en sus posibilidades de éxito para apoderarse del trono de Capadocia. Según afirman las fuentes, este reino tenía una peculiar organización política, ya que la nobleza (*populus*) contaba con una gran autonomía, al disponer de amplios territorios y tropas propias. La obediencia al monarca era relativa, y de hecho, como nos dice Estrabón, estos nobles debían firmar los tratados internacionales junto con el rey. Por tanto, la monarquía capadocia fue siempre débil, y contó con pocos recursos tanto humanos como económicos³⁶. En tal contexto, un soberano emparentado con la casa reinante, como era el caso de Antíoco, podía aspirar a ser reconocido por la nobleza y aprovechar un vacío de poder para hacerse con el trono.

Debemos tener presente que la posición de la monarquía Capadocia en las últimas décadas del siglo II a.C. era particularmente débil: Ariárates V debía tener una edad avanzada en el 130 a.C., y Ariárates VI probablemente no alcanzó la mayoría de edad hasta el 125 a.C., cuando se desposó con Laódice del Ponto. Este rey tuvo sólo dos hijos varones, y todo se complicó aún más cuando murió asesinado hacia el 110 a.C. y su viuda quedó como regente. Hacia el 100/99 a.C., la toma efectiva del poder por parte del joven Ariárates VII fue respondida por los ejércitos de Mitrídates VI, que acabó asesinando a su sobrino con sus propias manos e instauró en el trono de Capadocia a su hijo Ariárates IX. A continuación, sobrevinieron una serie de disputas que acabarían con la instauración de Ariobarzanes I con la ayuda de Sila³⁷.

³⁴ DE CALLATAÏ (1997), p. 145-150; (2013). Véase igualmente POENARU BORDEA (1979), p. 50. Para la propaganda de Mitrídates sobre la autoctonía y carácter invicto del reino pónico, véase JUST. 38.7.2-3; BALLESTEROS PASTOR (2013a), (2013b), p. 280-286.

³⁵ JUST. 36.1.8-10; 38.10.6-9; LORBER / HOUGHTON / VESELÝ (2006), p. 58-59. Sobre el posible origen anatólico de la fuente de Trogo, *vide supra* n. 13. Sobre Antíoco VII y su título Gran Rey, véase recientemente MUCCIOLI (2013), p. 401-402 y ENGELS (2014), p. 339.

³⁶ Sobre esta nobleza, véase JUST. 37.1.5; 38.1.1; 38.2.7-8; 38.5.9; PLB. 24.14.9; 31.7.1; STR. 12.2.9; DIOD. SIC. 31.21; CIC., *Fam.* 15.2.4-7; 15.4.6; BREGLIA PULCI DORIA (1978), p. 124; SULLIVAN (1990), p. 55 y 352, n. 49; PANICHI (2005), p. 212; BALLESTEROS PASTOR (2008), p. 46 y (2013), p. 162, 174, 245. La pobreza de los reyes de Capadocia llegó a ser un tópico difundido en Roma: CIC., *Att.* 6.3; HOR., *Ep.* 1.6.39. Sobre las tendencias feudales en el Asia seléucida, véase ENGELS (2011).

³⁷ Sobre estos acontecimientos y su cronología, véase MCGING (1986), p. 72-86; BALLESTEROS PASTOR (1996), p. 60-78 y (2013b), p. 87-93; DE CALLATAÏ (1997), p. 187-214, 267-277. Ariárates V comenzó su reinado en el 163 a.C. (PLB. 31.3; 31.7.1; LIV.,

Por otra parte, tenemos indicios para pensar que desde mediados del siglo II a.C. la nobleza de Capadocia se hallaba dividida, lo cual acabaría favoreciendo la injerencia extranjera. Tras la muerte de Ariárates IV en el 164 a.C., se produjo un enfrentamiento entre sus hijos: por un lado Ariárates V, y por otro su hermano (o hermanastro) Orofernes. Puesto que éste último recibió la ayuda de Demetrio I, podríamos pensar que el sector que apoyaba a Ariárates era contrario a la intervención de esta rama de los Seléucidas en la política capadocia y buscó una alianza con el Ponto³⁸. Ello explica que Mitrídates V Eúvergtes se desposara con una princesa ariarátida³⁹, y que, posteriormente, la muerte de Nisa decretada por el *populus* capadocio fuera seguida del desposorio del joven Ariárates VI Epífanos Filopátor con Laódice, hija del citado rey del Ponto⁴⁰. Sabemos de un noble llamado Gordio, que era líder de la facción filopóntica de la nobleza capadocia, y que contaba con importantes apoyos en ese reino, hasta el punto de que algunos lo propusieron como rey tras la muerte de Ariárates VII a principios del siglo I a.C.⁴¹. Así pues, la relación de Capadocia con el vecino reino del Ponto venía una vez más a responder al deseo de independencia de una parte del *populus* respecto a las ambiciones de los reyes de Siria. Pero por otro lado, ya que Demetrio I, padre de Antíoco VII y Demetrio II, había apoyado las aspiraciones de Orofernes al trono, podríamos sospechar de la existencia de buenas relaciones entre esa rama de la dinastía seléucida y el sector de la nobleza capadocia que se había alineado junto a este hermano de Ariárates V⁴².

Per. 46), por lo que debía haber nacido antes del 187 a.C., y muy probablemente en la década anterior, según nuestra reconstrucción: *vide supra* n. 20. Ariárates IX, hijo de Mitrídates, reinó en Capadocia sólo durante un breve tiempo a principios de los años 90 a.C., y después durante la primera Guerra Mitridática: véase SIMONETTA (2007), p. 85-101; BALLESTEROS PASTOR (2013b), p. 91-92 (con bibliografía).

³⁸ Sobre esta disputa y la ayuda de Demetrio I a Orofernes, véase PLB. 3.5.2; APP., *Syr.* 47; JUST. 35.1.2-3; POMP.-TROG., *Prol.* 34; DIOD. SIC. 31.32; ZONAR. 9.24.8-9; WILL (1967), p. 313-314; BREGLIA PULCI DORIA (1978); BALLESTEROS PASTOR (2008), p. 47-48. Es significativa la imagen negativa de Orofernes en el relato de Diodoro: véase además GÜNTHER (1995), p. 52; LEBRETON (2011), p. 195.

³⁹ El parentesco de Mitrídates Eupátor con la dinastía Ariarátida puede inferirse de algunas fuentes: JUST. 38.2.5; APP., *Mith.* 10, 12; BALLESTEROS PASTOR (2014a), (2014b). MANASERYAN (1985) afirma que el sector liderado por Gordio simplemente aspiraba a mantener su independencia.

⁴⁰ Sobre dicho matrimonio, véase JUST. 38.1.1, 5; MEMN., *FGrHist* 434, F1 22.1; SEIBERT (1967), p. 110; BALLESTEROS PASTOR (2013b), p. 171-172, 176-177. Sobre la duración de la regencia de Nisa, *vide supra* n. 24. Habría que tener en cuenta que Ariárates VII habría alcanzado la mayoría de edad hacia el 100/99 a.C., y si era el primogénito, ello podría situar el matrimonio de Ariárates VI hacia el 125 a.C.: véase BALLESTEROS PASTOR (2013b), p. 87-91.

⁴¹ JUST. 38.5.9: *populo Cappadocum pro libertate oblata Gordium regem orante*; DMITRIEV (2006), p. 289-290; BALLESTEROS PASTOR (2013b), p. 245.

⁴² No obstante, las relaciones entre Demetrio I y Orofernes acabarían siendo hostiles: según JUST. 35.1.3-4, el capadocio trató de sublevar a los de Antioquía para hacerse con el trono de Demetrio, pero éste lo apresó, aunque lo mantuvo con vida para que Ariárates

Deberíamos también recordar que Apiano habla de la existencia de una Capadocia seléucida, que habría estado bajo el gobierno de esta dinastía hasta que fue insertada en el reino de los Ariáratidas. Según la hipótesis tradicional, este territorio habría podido formar parte de la dote que Antíoco Teos entregó a Ariárates II⁴³. Pero también podríamos plantear que las tendencias “feudales” en la periferia del imperio seléucida hubieran permitido a los señores de aquellas tierras cambiar sus anteriores vínculos para insertarse dentro del reino Ariaratida⁴⁴. Por lo tanto, no resulta improbable que los posteriores Seléucidas hubieran pretendido conservar ciertos derechos sobre aquellos territorios, lo cual contribuiría a justificar las ambiciones de Antíoco Sidetes sobre el trono capadocio.

En definitiva, los Seléucidas habrían visto a Capadocia como un país muy propicio para una anexión, tanto desde el punto de vista estratégico como del político. Situada más allá del Tauro, tenía al sur una frontera común con el reino de Siria. Con una monarquía débil y una nobleza dividida, Capadocia era por tanto una presa fácil para los reyes seléucidas, que habían perdido la mayor parte de su antiguo imperio. Además, en caso que estamos estudiando, no se habría tratado de realizar una intervención armada, sino de tomar el trono alejando derechos dinásticos.

Es cierto que Capadocia estaba en aquel momento dentro de la órbita romana, que sus reyes habían recurrido al arbitraje de la República, y que diversas embajadas de la *Vrbs* habían llegado hasta la corte de Mazaca durante el reinado de Ariárates V⁴⁵. Pero no es menos cierto que Roma se abstuvo de intervenir con sus legiones en este reino tras la participación (supuestamente militar) de Demetrio I a favor de Orofernes frente a Ariárates V, y no tenemos noticia de ninguna orden del Senado al rey seléucida sobre este acontecimiento⁴⁶. Roma parecía realmente no querer tomar parte activa en los asuntos de los territorios al este

continuara temiendo una posible guerra fratricida. Es interesante este interés del rey seléucida por controlar la situación en Capadocia.

⁴³ APP., *Syr.* 54; SOFOU (2005), p. 747, n. 43; CAPDETREY (2007), p. 50, 59, 242-243. Este territorio incluiría Cataonia: STR. 12.1.2; HENKE (2005), p. 51-52; MICHELS (2009), p. 225, y para una visión diferente, SOFOU (2005), p. 749-750, 753.

⁴⁴ Sobre esas tendencias en el caso capadocio respecto a los Seléucidas, véase ENGELS (2011), p. 21.

⁴⁵ Las primeras embajadas conocidas habrían sido en el 163 a.C.: PLB. 31.2.13; 31.8. BROUGHTON (1951), p. 441, pensó que fueron recibidas por Ariárates IV, pero PLB. 31.3.1 afirma que los legados llegaron después de que Ariárates V hubiera renovado su amistad con Roma; véase igualmente WALBANK (1979), p. 472. Para otras embajadas romanas, véase PLB. 31.15; 31.32-33; cf. DIOD. SIC. 31.28. Ariárates y Orofernes enviaron embajadas a Roma: PLB. 32.10; ZONAR. 9.24.8-9; APP., *Syr.* 47; BALLESTEROS PASTOR (2008), p. 47.

⁴⁶ Nuestras fuentes sugieren una intervención activa de Demetrio con sus tropas: PLB. 3.5.2; ZONAR. 9.24.9; APP., *Syr.* 47. La intervención de ejércitos extranjeros en Capadocia también está atestiguada en otros casos: PLB. 3.5.2; ZONAR. 9.24.9 (Éumenes II); JUST. 38.1.2-5 (Nicomedes III).

del Halis: recordemos que la guerra de Farnaces I contra Pérgamo, Paflagonia y Capadocia (183-179 a.C.) se saldó con unas embajadas romanas, pero la República se abstuvo de mandar tropas a esas distantes regiones⁴⁷. Posiblemente, como afirmó Badian, Roma confiaba en que las querellas dinásticas pondrían a estos reinos en una situación favorable a los intereses de la República, sin necesidad de que las legiones hubieran de intervenir⁴⁸.

Podríamos considerar que estas aspiraciones seléucidas sobre el territorio de Capadocia (o quizás sólo una parte del mismo) hubieran continuado entre los reyes de Siria que siguieron a Antíoco VII. Así, se han encontrado en Capadocia monedas correspondientes a la segunda parte del reinado de Demetrio II, lo que podría revelar el interés de este monarca por el reino anatólico⁴⁹. Por otro lado, aunque no sería un dato concluyente, es interesante la coincidencia de los epítetos de Antíoco X Eusebes Filopátor con la titulación del prestigioso Ariárates V. Eusebes fue el epíteto más característico de los reyes capadocios: ya había sido adoptado por Ariárates IV y volvería a ser llevado por Ariárates VIII, Ariárates IX, Ariobarzanes II y Ariárates X⁵⁰. Incluso hubo una princesa, hija de Ariobarzanes II, que se llamó Eusebia⁵¹.

En este contexto complejo y turbulento, la fundación de la provincia romana de Cilicia, hacia el 102 a.C., habría tenido como finalidad no sólo vigilar a Mitrídates Eupátor (cuyo reino era más accesible desde la provincia de Asia), sino también proteger al débil estado capadocio de posibles aspiraciones de los Seléucidas, estableciendo un puesto de vigilancia en las mismas fronteras de sus territorios⁵². A pesar de las querellas dinásticas de los reyes de Siria, la posibilidad de que éstos extendieran sus dominios en un grado significativo podía resultar inquietante para los intereses romanos en una región cuyo equilibrio no debía romperse.

⁴⁷ PLB. 24.1.1-3; 24.5.7-8; 24.14.1; 25.2; DIOD. SIC. 29.22; 24; LIV. 40.20.1; HEINEN (2005).

⁴⁸ BADIAN (1958), p. 111.

⁴⁹ KRENGEL / LORBER (2009), p. 70.

⁵⁰ Sobre el epíteto Eusebes como característico de los reyes de Capadocia, véase MUCCIOLI (2013), p. 311-313; BALLESTEROS PASTOR (2014a), p. 82-83. En particular, sobre Ariárates VIII, véase DE CALLATAÏ (1997), p. 195-200. Sobre los epítetos de Antíoco X, véase MUCCIOLI (2013), p. 313-314. Apiano (*Syr.* 69) justifica el apelativo Eusebes de este rey como una burla de los sirios.

⁵¹ CLINTON (2005), Vol. I, part. I, p. 202-203, n° 272, I-V. Flavio Josefo asigna a Antíoco VII el epíteto Eusebes: esto tal vez estuviera en relación con las pretensiones de este rey sobre Capadocia, aunque según Josefo el apelativo vendría por su respeto por las tradiciones religiosas judías: JOSEPH., *AI* 7.393; 13.244; *Contra Ap.* 2.82; MUCCIOLI (2013), p. 313-314.

⁵² BALLESTEROS PASTOR (2008), p. 54. Sobre la fundación de la provincia de Cilicia y sus inicios, véanse entre otros HASSALL / CRAWFORD / REYNOLDS (1974); KALLET-MARX (1995), p. 227-239; FERRARY (2000); BRENNAN (2000), vol. II, p. 357-359. Para una reconstrucción diferente, véase recientemente OKTAN (2011).

Como ocurre con otras reinas helenísticas, la intervención de Nisa mostraría su lealtad al linaje del que provenía, actuando en favor de los intereses de su familia originaria⁵³. Justino, especialmente interesado no sólo por los hechos sangrientos, sino por las cuestiones referidas a la lealtad y la gratitud, habría escogido este pasaje de Trogo como un *exemplum* de conducta inapropiada en una reina, que se muestra no sólo cruel, sino también pérfida. Esta preferencia de Justino por temas como la lealtad y la perfidia se puede observar en algunos de los más extensos discursos incluidos en el *Epítome*, y pudo haber tenido algo que ver con la relación entre este autor y su anónimo protector mencionado en el *Prefacio* de esta obra. Presuntamente, Justino habría perdido el favor de este personaje, y la composición del *Epítome* pudo estar destinada a procurar una reconciliación⁵⁴.

En definitiva, la noticia de Justino sobre los crímenes en la familia real capadocia a la muerte de Ariárates V habría sido verídica. La fuente de Pompeyo Trogo debió estar bien informada sobre los avatares de Capadocia, con lo que no debemos dudar de su credibilidad. Si, como hemos defendido, la fuente de Trogo fue una historia compuesta en la corte de Armenia, no podemos olvidar el parentesco entre los Artaxiadas y el rey Arquelao I, que gobernó Capadocia tras la extinción de la dinastía Ariobarzánida⁵⁵. Los planes de Antíoco VII y los crímenes de Nisa pudieron por tanto ser un episodio más de la agonía de la estirpe de Seleuco, que hasta el final se resistió a perder el poder con el que había contado, ya mucho tiempo atrás.

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⁵³ MCAULEY (2016), p. 177.

⁵⁴ Sobre este anónimo protector, véase JUST., *Praef.* 4-6. Sobre el tema de la lealtad en Justino, véanse por ejemplo algunos de los discursos más extensos del *Epítome*, teniendo en cuenta además que algunos están en estilo directo: JUST., 11.15.7-13 (Darío III); 14.4.2-14 (Éumenes de Cardia); 18.7.10-14 (Malco); 38.6.3-4 (Mitrídates); BALLESTEROS PASTOR (2017). Sobre el *Epítome* de Justino como colección de *exempla* retóricos, véase YARDLEY / HECKEL (1997), p. 18; y recientemente BARTLETT (2016), p. 142.

⁵⁵ Sobre el origen oriental de la fuente de Trogo, *vide supra* n. 13.

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Alfabeto latino en soporte pétreo hallado en *Augusta Emerita* (Mérida, España)

1. Contexto de aparición

En 1998, con motivo de la construcción de un nuevo centro comercial en un solar ubicado en el nº 27 de la céntrica calle Marquesa de Pinares de Mérida, se iniciaron distintos trabajos arqueológicos que comenzaron con unos sondeos orientativos, de resultado positivo¹, y continuaron en 2002 con la excavación arqueológica en extensión². En marzo de 2004, tras un cambio de propiedad del solar y con un nuevo proyecto de construcción, se inició una nueva intervención arqueológica, dirigida esta por uno de los firmantes del trabajo, que se prolongó hasta el año siguiente³. Ambas intervenciones permitieron documentar diversos usos del espacio (funerario, industrial, doméstico, e incluso agropecuario), desarrollados en un amplio espectro cronológico que abarca desde la época altoimperial hasta la hispanomusulmana.

El solar, ubicado extramuros, pero muy cercano al trazado de la muralla altoimperial, en la actual calle de la Concordia⁴, está situado sobre una elevación con fuerte pendiente hacia el norte, es decir, hacia el cauce del río *Barraeca* – actual Albarregas –, del que dista hoy unos 300 metros. Esta ubicación *extra moenia* y, a su vez, cercana a un curso fluvial, hacía del mismo un espacio ideal para la instalación de estructuras industriales, documentadas tanto en la última intervención como en otras realizadas en solares cercanos⁵.

En época altoimperial la zona norte del solar aparece ocupada por un edificio establecido en torno a un espacio cuadrangular, o patio, con *lacus* central. A priori, la organización espacial y el análisis de las estructuras localizadas nos han permitido lanzar una primera hipótesis de trabajo, por la que asociamos dicho complejo industrial a una posible *officina lanificaria* techada, como denotan los contextos que amortizan el edificio. Es decir, estaríamos ante una instalación dedicada al laboreo de la lana en las fases previas a convertirse en paños⁶.

¹ Intervención nº 2073, realizada bajo la dirección de D. Pedro Dámaso Sánchez Barrero.

² MÉNDEZ (2005).

³ Intervención nº 8071, realizada bajo la dirección de Yolanda Picado Pérez.

⁴ PALMA (2004).

⁵ BARRIENTOS (2001).

⁶ MOELLER (1976).

Las estancias identificadas aparecen totalmente pavimentadas con *opus signinum* y los suelos presentan una marcada pendiente descendente hacia el norte, siguiendo la natural hacia el valle del Albarregas. Entre ellas, nos interesa destacar la identificada con el número 8, por haberse hallado allí la placa con el alfabeto.

Dicha estancia, de 4,80 m de longitud y anchura desconocida (superior a 3 m), cuenta al norte con acceso directo al espacio central con *lacus* y, al este, con un segundo acceso que la pone en contacto con una habitación contigua en la que se localiza una serie de piletas asociadas al lavado de los vellones. Esta habitación presenta una clara vinculación con el pasillo central desarrollado en torno al *lacus*. Hay que destacar el cuidado acceso de esta al patio, flanqueado a ambos lados por sendas columnas, de las que únicamente queda *in situ* la basa de una de ellas. El resto del umbral aparece revestido por fragmentos de mármol de diverso tamaño. Precisamente, uno de estos fragmentos conserva grabado en su cara vista el alfabeto que presentamos.

El umbral en el que aparece inserta esta pieza formó parte, sin duda, del proyecto inicial arquitectónico del edificio. Sin embargo, las características epigráficas de la pieza concluyen que no pudo formar parte de la fisonomía inicial del complejo, habiéndose gestado este en un momento avanzado del II d.C. Quizás un dato significativo para pensar que no corresponde a las primeras fases del complejo es la diferencia cromática que presenta respecto a las restantes lajas que formaban el paso. En concreto, aunque todos los mármoles deben de proceder de las canteras de Borba-Estremoz, el abecedario presenta una coloración blanquecina que se diferencia de las demás. Esto podría generar la sensación de estar ante una especie de *opus sectile* fingido, aunque fuera no intencionado.

Independientemente de cuándo fuera incrustada la pieza en el umbral, se percibe un correcto sistema de ensamblaje de la misma respecto a su entorno. A pesar de situarse en este paso, su proximidad a una de las columnas que flanquean la entrada hizo que la pieza no fuera pisada de continuo, evitando así que se hayan perdido las letras de la misma. El epígrafe debió ejecutarse antes de insertarse ahí, una vez que la placa había adquirido su morfología triangular, como lo prueban las líneas de guía desviadas del eje axial en el que la pieza se ubicó en el umbral.

El proceso de exhumación de la pieza se llevó a cabo a comienzos de 2016, al hilo de la reactivación del estudio del solar. Estas labores fueron desarrolladas por personal cualificado del Consorcio de Mérida y las labores de limpieza de la misma corrieron a cargo del Departamento de Conservación y Restauración de dicha institución a partir de técnicas acordes al soporte en cuestión⁷.

⁷ PARDO (inéd.).

2. Estudio morfológico

La pieza que centra nuestro estudio es una placa de mármol blanquecino, seccionada por todos sus lados antes de ser inscrita, resultando un soporte en forma de triángulo isósceles. Presenta un cromatismo blanco roto y una granulometría media-alta⁸. Exterioriza algunas manchas amarillentas que, claramente, son adherencias patológicas generadas por la acción parasitaria de algunos líquenes. Mide (33) × (17) × 3 / 3,5 cm.

El alfabeto está inscrito en el anverso de la placa, que tiene la superficie bien pulimentada; no así el reverso, más rugoso. La parte inferior no presenta dicho acabado y, además pueden observarse retoques biselados que debieron favorecer el mejor encastre de la misma en el umbral. Un análisis con luz rasante ayuda a precisar que dicho desbastado se produjo en bisel desde la parte trasera de la pieza a partir de pequeños golpes de escoplos y punteros.

El alfabeto se ha inscrito en tres líneas en la placa colocada en posición vertical, adaptándose a la forma irregular del soporte, es decir, una vez seccionado. Se han diseñado previamente líneas de guía verticales y horizontales, que se extienden a lo largo de toda la placa, por lo que había preparación previa para inscribir dos líneas más. No son líneas rectas, al menos las inferiores. La caja tiene un espaciado interlineal entre 2 y 2,5 cm. El tipo de letra es muy irregular, variable en su altura (0,6 – 2,5 cm), ejecutado por un inexperto; podría responder al ensayo de un aprendiz de lapicida; o haberse hecho con rapidez y sin la intención de que sea en su día visto, es decir, para ser colocado en el pavimento con un valor apotropaico. De hecho, las letras no se ajustan a las líneas de guía y presentan una ejecución muy tosca que podría responder a lo que los clásicos denominaron *litterae praeformatae*, es decir, trazos aportados por muchachos en el proceso de aprendizaje de las letras⁹.

Es, por otra parte, muy significativo el hecho de que se hayan inscrito dos íes distintas, la *ī* longa y la *i* normal, cuya coexistencia es completamente excepcional en los alfabetos que se conservan en el mundo romano. De hecho, ninguno de los revisados incluye las dos. Si bien en época silana se había introducido la *ī* longa con valor fonético, para marcar la *i* larga, es verdad que con el tiempo se llegó a escribir la *ī* longa para señalar tanto una *i* breve, como una secuencia abreviada de dos íes seguidas, o una *i* semiconsonántica, e incluso llegó a tener un mero carácter decorativo¹⁰.

⁸ Un análisis macroscópico de la petrología de la pieza nos permite asociar la materia prima a las canteras de Estremoz, que distan sólo 120 kilómetros de Mérida y surtieron ampliamente a la capital de Lusitania, como se pone de relieve en edificios tan emblemáticos como el teatro.

⁹ QUINT., *Inst. orat.* 5, 14, 31.

¹⁰ Así expresa CHRISTIANSEN (1889), p. 36, el uso de *ī* longa: “non solum uocalis quantitatem uel qualitatem significabat, sed etiam signum erat lapicidis aptissimum ad titulum exornandum et decorandum”. Sobre los distintos usos de la *ī* longa en la epigrafía

El surco de las letras es ancho y está lleno de correcciones. Estas incisiones diferentes denotarían el uso de, al menos, dos instrumentos en la ejecución de las letras, uno romo y otro más puntiagudo. La poca habilidad del lapicida se pone de manifiesto especialmente en los trazos curvos (*C, G, O, Q, S*), que están formados por la suma de muchos golpes, pero sin que el resultado final presente un trazo corregido, continuo ni uniforme. La *G* no tiene el esperado apéndice, sino que se distingue de la *C* por prolongar hacia abajo el contorno superior. La *Q* tiene un rabo recto que se adentra bastante en el óculo. Además parece que en un primer momento se olvidó de trazar la *L*, que ha incluido más tarde aprovechando el primer trazo de la *M* y grabando un pie horizontal, resultando así un nexo *L^M*. La *F* reproduce los tres brazos de la *E*, pero con el superior y el inferior divergentes. La *V* y la *X* son muy pequeñas y están montadas, respectivamente, sobre la *N* y la *O* de la línea superior, que a su vez se muestran caídas. No incluye *Y* ni *Z*, algo esperable, ya que estas dos letras no se consideraron nunca propiamente letras del abecedario latino. Por ello Cicerón (*Nat. Deor.* 2, 93) dirá: *Vnius et uiginti formae litterarum*; y Quintiliano a fines del siglo I d.C. escribirá (*Inst. orat.* 1, 4, 9): *X nostrarum ultima est*. Es verdad, sin embargo, que en algunos alfabetos conservados en inscripciones oficiales en mármol se han inscrito la *Y* y la *Z*, como en dos dedicaciones votivas a *I(oui) O(ptimo) M(aximo) D(olichen)*o), una de *Carnuntum* (*CIL* III, 11186), y otra de Roma (*CIL* VI, 36790), pero en realidad estas dos letras se consideraban ajenas al alfabeto latino y se usaban sólo para transcribir helenismos¹¹.

3. *Texto*

A B C D E F̣ F̣ G
 H Ì I K L^M N O
 P Q R S T V X

1: E pro F in lapide.

4. *Otros alfabetos*

No es el primer alfabeto latino hallado en Hispania, ya que podemos inventariar hasta trece, ni siquiera el primero ejecutado en piedra, ya que hay noticia de uno fragmentario de *Italica* que dejaba ver las cinco primeras letras¹²; pero sí reúne

de Hispania, v. RODRÍGUEZ ADRADOS (1971). Para una puesta al día sobre este tema, v. GARCÍA GONZÁLEZ (2015), p. 58-70.

¹¹ Teniendo en cuenta el carácter oriental de la divinidad, es posible que las hayan dedicado personajes vinculados culturalmente al mundo griego.

¹² Estaba inscrito en una placa de mármol (*CILA* II, nº 537) y lo publicó por primera vez el Marqués de MONSALUD (1899), p. 421. Se encontraba incrustado en el pavimento, aunque actualmente está perdido, y tenía sólo cinco letras: A B C D E siendo la D

rasgos novedosos. En efecto, contamos con un alfabeto sobre un fragmento de arcilla cocida, procedente de Castejón (Navarra), que termina igualmente en la letra X¹³, y que se conserva en el Museo de Navarra. Tenemos noticia de uno incompleto en un grafito de Villastar (Teruel), arrancado de la roca y transportado a Vilel y posteriormente perdido¹⁴. Existen otros dos esgrafiados en la roca, procedentes de Felgar (Portugal)¹⁵, y otro más, proveniente de *Conimbriga*, escrito en un ladrillo dispuesto en dos columnas, muy incompleto¹⁶. Estos tres últimos se han interpretado como un mero ejercicio de escritura.

En Cieza (Murcia) se encontró un dibujo realizado en las paredes de la cueva del Barranco de los Grajos, que ha sido interpretado como parte de un alfabeto latino, aunque sólo presenta *A B C D E F G[---]*¹⁷. Existe además un grafito procedente de Lugo, inscrito en un plato de cerámica gris tardía, con un texto muy mal conservado en línea 1, donde sólo hay signos irreconocibles, y un abecedario en la línea 2 al que le falta la X: *A B C D E F G H I K L M N O P Q R S T V*¹⁸. Ya de época tardía conservamos varios alfabetos parciales inscritos en pizarras visigodas, como una pieza procedente de Diego Álvaro (Ávila), que presenta dos alfabetos incompletos fechados en los siglos VI-VII, donde en el segundo se incluyen Y y Z¹⁹. Hay también dos originarios del Castro de Lerilla (Salamanca), incompletos, interpretados como posibles ejercicios escolares²⁰; y otro de Pelayos (Salamanca), del que se conserva *[A B]C D E F G H I[---]*²¹.

Fuera de la península hispánica no son inusuales: podemos registrar más de 200 inscripciones conteniendo el alfabeto latino, aislado o acompañando algún otro texto. Pero de ese elevado número tenemos que distinguir entre aquellos que se inscriben por razones puramente didácticas, como un ejercicio de repetición de los escolares que las inscribían en distintos soportes hasta aprenderlas tras haberlas asimilado, y aquellos que se realizan por otros motivos. De hecho en la educación griega y romana primaba el aprendizaje del orden de las letras antes que su propia forma²².

triangular, con forma de una delta griega. MONSALUD (1899), p. 422, la data a finales del siglo IV y piensa que era “un ensayo de aprendiz cuadratario”.

¹³ AE 1982, 591; VELAZA (2003, 2012).

¹⁴ ERTeruel 27q.

¹⁵ FE 117, n° 502.

¹⁶ HEp 15, 433.

¹⁷ HEp 6, 676.

¹⁸ HEp 11, 315. Si bien los editores piensan que faltan también Y, Z, es muy posible que nunca llegaran a escribirse.

¹⁹ VELÁZQUEZ (2004), n° 57.

²⁰ VELÁZQUEZ (2004), n° 105 y n° 106.

²¹ VELÁZQUEZ (2004), n° 25. Sobre el significado de estos alfabetos en el mundo cultural visigodo, véase VELÁZQUEZ (2004), cap. I, 5, 2.

²² WILKINS (1914), p. 51; MARROU (1950), p. 357 y 364-365; BECK (1964), p. 114-115.

En Pompeya y Herculano, por ejemplo, se han encontrado más de setenta inscripciones garabateadas en las paredes con la secuencia de las letras del alfabeto, realizadas probablemente por muchachos que estaban aprendiéndolo²³. En casi todas ellas aparecen exclusivamente estos veintiún signos, tanto cuando se escriben de forma continua de principio a fin: *A, B, C, D...*²⁴, como cuando se escriben de forma alterna: primera letra, última, segunda letra, penúltima, etc.: *A, X, B, V...*²⁵, que fue un método muy utilizado por los maestros para que los niños dominaran bien las letras y su orden correcto antes de comenzar a escribir textos de corrido.

Un autor tardío como Fulgencio informa que en la antigüedad tardía quienes sabían el abecedario eran llamados *abecetarii*; más tarde pasaban a ser *notarii*²⁶, es decir, cuando ya comprendían los signos alfabéticos como símbolos (*P* leído como *Publius*, *Q* como *Quintus*, etc.), y más tarde *syllabarii*, cuando eran ya capaces de formar y de leer sílabas²⁷. Podríamos estar, pues, ante uno de estos *abecetarii*, que ha hecho el esfuerzo de grabar en una piedra que le han dejado un muestrario de las letras que ya ha aprendido, si no fuera porque el material en que las escribían los escolares era el estuco, las *tabellae ceratae*, la cerámica, etc., no un duro mármol que se coloca en el pavimento.

En cuanto a la datación de la pieza, la cronología aportada a todo el conjunto parece posterior a la época trajanea, como se desprende del análisis de las sigillatas hispánicas localizadas, caso de los tipos Hisp. 37, 35/36. El cierre, al menos en su fase industrial, se produciría en pleno siglo III d.C., dato cronológico aportado por las ARSW-C del tipo Hayes 50. Por consiguiente, teniendo en cuanto lo antes indicado, creemos que este epígrafe tuvo que ejecutarse en un momento no definido entre la época trajanea y mediados del siglo III d.C., momento de su amortización, dato que no podemos concretar más, ya que no contamos con información lo suficientemente precisa para afirmar si la pieza se insertó en el umbral en un primer momento.

Desde el punto de vista paleográfico no parece que podamos datarlo antes del primer tercio del siglo II. La *E* formada por dos trazos verticales paralelos, que aparece en muchos alfabetos, como el de Castejón, se ha sustituido aquí ya por una *E* clásica con los tres brazos horizontales.

²³ *CIL* IV, 5452-5506; 6904-6910; 9294-9295b; 9306; 9311c; 10250-10259. Están todos escritos con un objeto punzante sobre las superficies de las casas o edificios públicos (muros, columnas, etc.). Algunos son alfabetos griegos (*CIL* IV 5461, 9296), prueba del bilingüismo de la ciudad porteña. Muchos de ellos están incompletos (*CIL* IV 5479, 5485).

²⁴ *CIL* IV, 5474.

²⁵ *CIL* IV, 5472, 5499, 6905, 6907, 9299.

²⁶ FULG., *Myth.* III, 10: *ut in puerilibus litteris prima abecetaria, secunda nota.*

²⁷ Cf. BONNER (1977), p. 168.

5. Conclusiones

Presentamos un alfabeto latino sobre soporte pétreo localizado en una reciente intervención en *Augusta Emerita*. Las características epigráficas y el contexto arqueológico parecen apuntar a su ejecución en un momento avanzado del siglo II d.C. El interés de la pieza radica en que es la primera vez que un ejemplar de estas características aparece en Mérida, y que incluye todas las letras del abecedario latino, distinguiendo además entre *ī* longa e *i* normal.

En relación a cuál pudo ser la motivación para plasmarlo en piedra no resulta fácil dar una respuesta convincente. Hay constancia de dos alfabetos rupestres, sobre roca, en Valcamonica (Italia), cuya realización se ha interpretado con fines mágico-apotropaicos²⁸. Una placa opistógrafa, inserta en un columbario de Roma²⁹, presenta inscritos nada menos que siete veces el alfabeto latino, cuatro por una cara y tres por otra, lo cual podría indicar también fines apotropaicos³⁰, aunque termine con un *DMS*, razón que le impulsó a Dieterich³¹ a pensar en que era simplemente funeraria, sin más connotaciones, lo cual es muy discutible.

No parece, pues, que estemos ante la conocida práctica del aprendizaje mediante la reiterada escritura del alfabeto, que se registra fundamentalmente sobre *óstraka* cerámicos, papiros³² o soportes más ocasionales, caso de las *litterae praeformatae*³³, y siempre con la ayuda del *magister* que guiaba la mano del alumno³⁴, pero no en duro mármol. Tampoco puede ser un modelo para los lapicidas de un taller, dado el lugar en que se incrustó. Ni una dedicación votiva, como en ocasiones ha podido hacerse³⁵.

El hecho de que fuera colocado en el umbral de una estancia, pero en un lugar retirado de las continuas pisadas, hablaría de un plan premeditado para

²⁸ GASPERINI (1995), p. 319.

²⁹ *CIL* VI 6831.

³⁰ DE ROSSI (*ad CIL* VI 6831) comentó que se trataba de “*esercizi d’un discente d’arte lapidaria*”. Resulta, desde luego, muy sorprendente que el texto no incluya datos concretos propios de una inscripción funeraria: nombre del difunto, años de vida, dedicante, fórmulas de deposición, etc. Todo ello podría darle la razón a De Rossi, y deberíamos considerar que un aprendiz de lapicida ha incluido los alfabetos (en todos falta la Z, pero no la Y, presente en 4 ocasiones), a los que ha agregado una fórmula común que debía saber en la profesión: *DMS*.

³¹ DIETERICH (1901), p. 82.

³² Véase SCAPPATICCIO (2015), p. 65 ss.

³³ QUINT., *Inst. orat.* 5, 14, 31.

³⁴ PLAT., *Prot.* 326 o SEN., *Ep.* 94, 51. Para más datos sobre el proceso de aprendizaje en estos primeros estadios se encuentra el papiro de El Cairo estudiado por GUÉRAUD / JOUGUET (1938) interpretado como un verdadero manual de enseñanza primaria.

³⁵ *AE* 1983, 632, depósito votivo de Bath (Britannia).

preservar lo allí escrito; parece que debe considerarse una pieza de carácter apotropaico, ya que el lugar en que estuvo no facilitaba su lectura³⁶.

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³⁶ Queremos agradecer sinceramente a los dos informantes anónimos del artículo algunas de sus observaciones y puntos de vista, que han mejorado considerablemente la redacción final del mismo.

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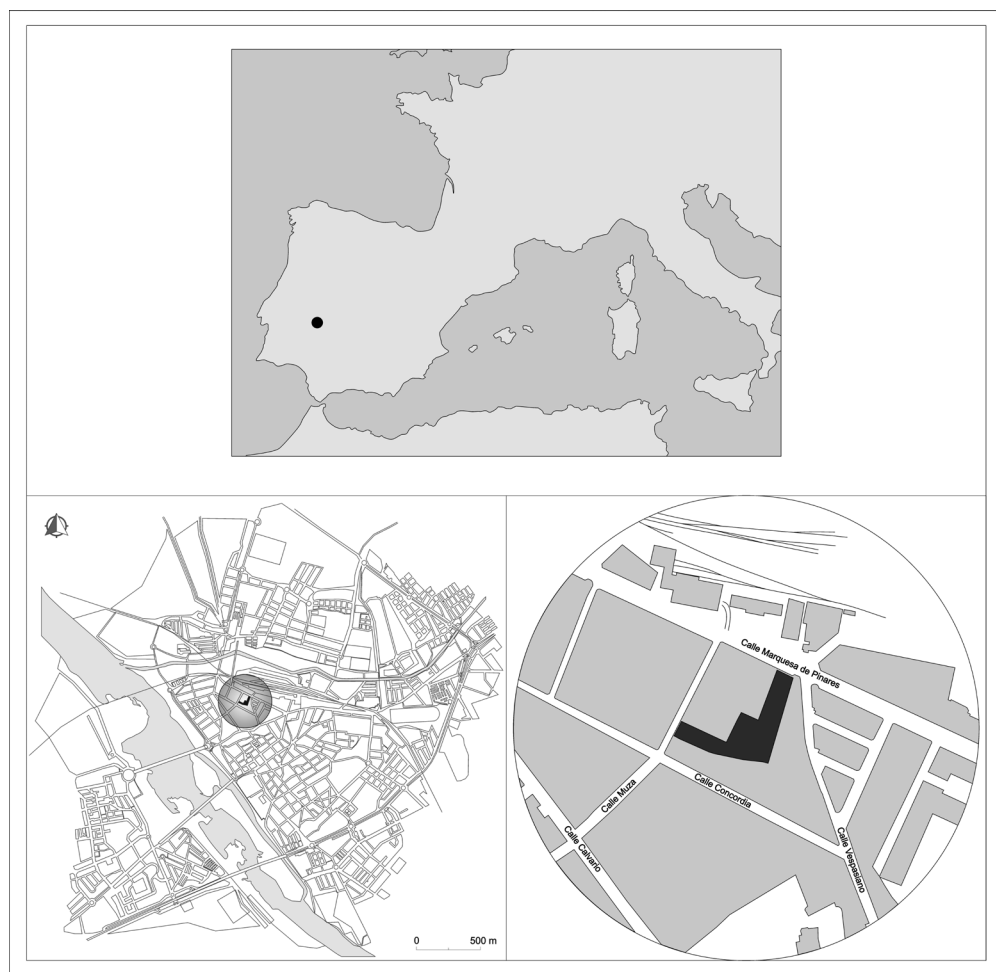


Figura 1. Mapa de Mérida con localización del solar donde apareció el alfabeto.



Figura 2. Imagen del solar desde el Norte con indicación de la ubicación del hallazgo.



Figura 3. Inscripción *in situ* durante el proceso de excavación.



Figura 4a. Anverso del alfabeto tras su limpieza.

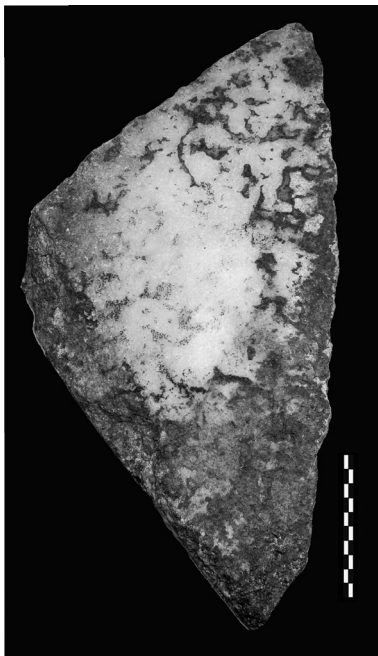


Figura 4b. Reverso del epígrafe una vez limpio.

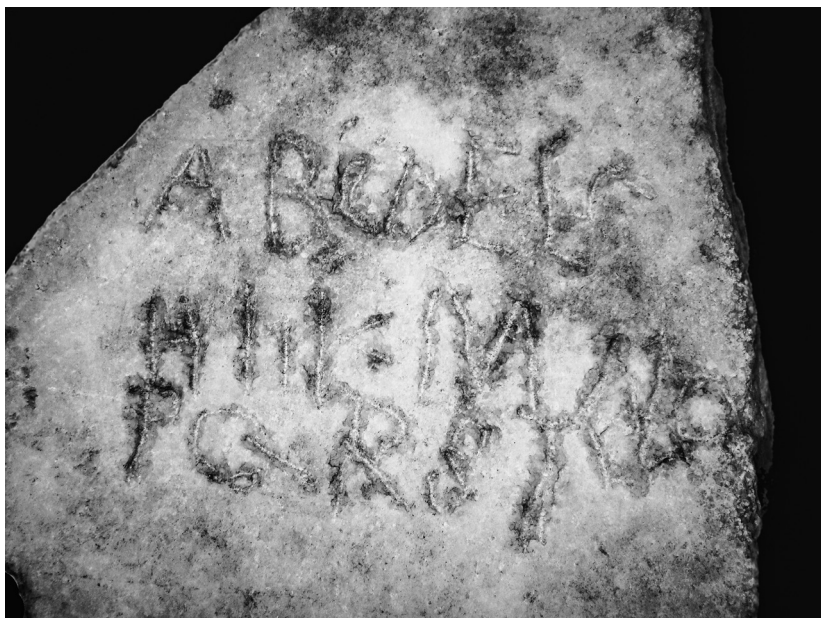


Figura 5. Fotografía de las letras pormenorizadas.



Figura 6. Detalle de las letras y las líneas guías.

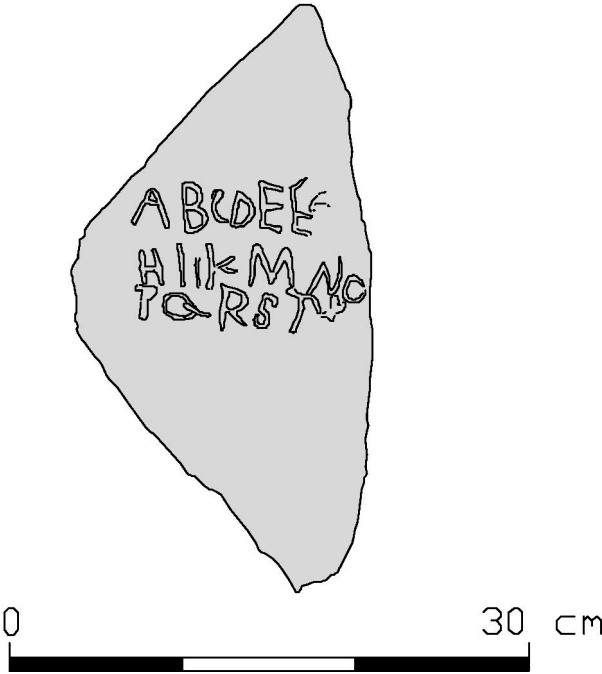


Figura 7. Dibujo del hallazgo.

Le *carmen* 64 de Catulle : un art poétique sous le voile du poème

Sous l'impulsion de la pragmatique littéraire, l'étude de la circonstance poétique, entendue comme scène de la diction d'une œuvre, a été profondément renouvelée ces dernières décennies. Rompant – sans en nier l'intérêt heuristique – avec les conceptions qu'en ont l'histoire littéraire et l'anthropologie¹, l'une qui l'envisage « comme une donnée extérieure, événement historique ou situation de vie, qui préexisterait à la production de l'œuvre en la déterminant (*i.e.* ce dont elle parle) », et l'autre « comme un cadre rituel ou un contexte au cours desquels s'effectue la performance poétique (*i.e.* quand, à qui, où et comment elle parle) »², la pragmatique littéraire conçoit cette scène comme une donnée interne à cette œuvre, à savoir, selon Maingueneau³, comme « la situation à travers laquelle (elle) pose, [*formule ou figure*] son énonciation [*sous son double aspect de texte composé et prononcé*]⁴, celle qui la rend légitime et qu'elle légitime en retour » ; « l'œuvre littéraire », précise-t-il, « lie ce qu'elle dit à la mise en place de conditions de légitimation de son propre dire » et « ce que dit le texte présuppose une scène de parole déterminée qu'il lui faut valider à travers son énonciation ». Mon propos sera de déceler dans le *carmen* 64 la présence d'une telle « scénographie énonciative » et de la confronter aux deux principales hypothèses formulées à propos de la circonstance qui aurait motivé la production du *carmen* : celle, formulée par Herrmann, d'une naissance, ce qui en fait un poème généthliaque destiné à un couple marié, Julia et Pompée, qui attend un enfant⁵ ; et

¹ Sur le débat qui entoure traditionnellement cette notion dans les études classiques, voir, à propos de la lyrique, les deux études fondatrices de HEINZE (1923) et FRAENKEL (1957) et le volume édité par LOWRIE (2009).

² DEREMETZ (2011), p. 293.

³ MAINGUENEAU (1993), p. 122.

⁴ C'est moi qui précise.

⁵ HERRMANN (1930) s'est attaché en premier lieu à dater le poème en découvrant sous les événements mythiques des allusions « à des faits de l'époque de Catulle » ; puis, observant que la naissance d'Achille constitue le couronnement du poème, il émet l'hypothèse que le *carmen* 64 n'est pas un épithalame, mais un poème généthliaque destiné à un couple marié qui attend un enfant. Établissant enfin un rapprochement avec la 4^e bucolique où, selon lui, Virgile célèbre la naissance de Marcellus, il conclut que le poème a été composé en 54 av. J.-C. en l'honneur de l'enfant attendu par Julia et Pompée. Mais le finale pessimiste du poème rend peu probable une telle interprétation.

celle, plus vraisemblable, d'un mariage⁶ à l'occasion duquel le poème, présenté comme l'image textuelle du drap couvrant le lit nuptial des futurs époux, aurait été offert comme cadeau à un couple célébrant ses noces, selon l'analyse stimulante proposée par Scheid⁷.

Cette scénographie qui vise généralement à établir le statut des énonciateurs et destinataires convoqués dans leur rapport à l'œuvre produite, ainsi que l'espace et le temps figurés de l'énonciation, entre pour l'essentiel dans une stratégie de positionnement, culturel et générique, de la part du poète : elle est le constituant essentiel de sa 'poétique auctoriale'⁸. Le premier à avoir mis en évidence de manière argumentée cette stratégie de 'self positioning' de la part de Catulle⁹ est Thomas¹⁰ qui a relevé la présence, dans la section introductive

⁶ De nombreux critiques ont noté que le *carmen* 64 faisait partie, avec les *carmina* 61-63, d'un ensemble de poèmes matrimoniaux. Pour DION (1993), p. 144, alors que le *carmen* 61 est un poème composé pour une circonstance particulière (le mariage de Junia et Manlius), les *carmina* 62 et 64 « évoquent le mariage dans l'absolu », ce qui revient à dire, semble-t-il, soit qu'ils ne dépendent d'aucune circonstance, soit qu'ils sont disponibles pour toutes les circonstances liées à un mariage.

⁷ SCHEID / SVENBRO (1994), p. 92-116. Scheid s'est employé à souligner la présence, dans le poème, d'un réseau métaphorique dense, celui du tissage, fréquemment utilisé par les Anciens pour représenter ces deux autres 'activités créatrices' que sont l'union sexuelle et la production poétique. Il relève ainsi l'opposition soulignée par Catulle entre le tissu nuptial offert à Thétis et à Pélée et le fil, que ne croise aucun autre fil, offert par Ariane à Thésée, l'un symbolisant l'union féconde et l'autre la désunion stérile ; il en déduit que, par la mise en abîme de la légende d'Ariane dans celle de Thétis, le poète « articule sa conception du mariage, de l'union et de la désunion des humains et des dieux », ce qui le conduit à émettre l'hypothèse que le choix du poète d'exploiter cette analogie serait à mettre en relation avec une circonstance particulière, un mariage auquel le poète aurait apporté une contribution originale convenant à son statut, c'est-à-dire le poème lui-même. Notons qu'une hypothèse comparable – le poème comme cadeau de noces – a été avancée par FRANK (1928) à propos du *carmen* 61.

⁸ Sous la notion de poétique auctoriale que je mobilise ici – et qu'il convient de distinguer des reconstructions par des lecteurs postérieurs de la poétique d'un auteur (incluant les reprises, imitations, influences diverses qu'on a pu y déceler) –, j'intègre toutes les interventions de l'auteur commentant son propre projet d'écrivain et informant son public sur les choix qu'il opère au sein d'une tradition qu'il recompose à son gré, que ces interventions soient ouvertes et explicites, quand ce dernier, passant du narratif au discursif, semble parler en son propre nom, ou qu'elles soient implicites, discrètes, et, comme c'est le plus souvent le cas, énoncées sous une forme allégorique. Quant à la tradition, qu'on la conçoive comme capital mémoriel, facteur de continuité (de thèmes et de contenus) ou indice d'appartenance, elle n'existe que mobilisée par des textes ; chaque texte, en choisissant ses modèles, en respectant certaines règles de production, institue et désigne lui-même la tradition vive à laquelle il prétend se rattacher ou dont il souhaite se distinguer ; voir DEREMETZ (2014), p. 49.

⁹ Sur cette question, voir HINDS (1998) et en particulier sa notion de « do-it-yourself literary tradition », p. 123-124.

¹⁰ THOMAS (1982) ; voir aussi, entre autres, ZETZEL (1983) ; GAISSER (2007) ; DEBROHUN (1999, 2007) ; BATSTONE (2007).

du poème (v. 1-18), d'un jeu complexe d'allusions aux versions antérieures du mythe d'Argo¹¹ développées par Euripide (*Médée*), Apollonius (*Argonautiques*), Callimaque (*Aitia*), Ennius (*Médée* et *Annales*) et Accius (*Médée*). Selon Thomas, en choisissant, rejetant, corrigeant telle ou telle version, ou en en combinant plusieurs, Catulle aurait eu pour objectif d'engager une polémique avec une tradition littéraire dont il souligne l'importance tout en affirmant finalement la supériorité de son propre traitement poétique du mythe. À la suite de Thomas, Hinds¹² a montré que cette polémique, ou à tout le moins ce 'challenge' avec une tradition littéraire, Catulle ne se contentait pas de le suggérer, mais qu'il l'affichait, voire le déclarait en recourant à un procédé bien connu des commentateurs, l'inscription d'une « Alexandrian footnote » dès le deuxième vers du poème :

*Peliaco quondam prognatae uertice pinus
dicuntur liquidas Neptuni nasse per undas
Phasidos ad fluctus et fines Aeetaeos,
cum lecti iuuenes, Argiuae robora pubis,
auratam optantes Colchis auertere pellem
ausi sunt uada salsa cita decurrere puppi,
caerula uerrentes abiegnis aequora palmis.
diua quibus retinens in summis urbibus arces
ipsa leui fecit uolitantem flamine currum,
pineae coniungens inflexae texta carinae.
illa rudem cursu prima imbuat Amphitriten.*

(v. 1-11)

« Il était autrefois, nés au sommet du Pélion, des pins qui, dit-on, ont navigué à travers les eaux limpides de Neptune jusqu'aux flots du Phase et jusqu'au royaume d'Eétès quand l'élite des jeunes gens, force de la jeunesse argienne, espérant ravir à la Colchide la toison d'or, osèrent lancer sur les flots salés leur nef rapide et balayer la plaine azurée de leurs rames de sapin. La déesse qui protège les citadelles sur les hauteurs des villes leur construisit elle-même ce char qu'un souffle léger faisait voler, formant des pins assemblés la trame de sa carène arrondie. Ce navire imprégna pour la première fois d'une course Amphitrite encore vierge. » (trad. de l'auteur)

Selon Hinds, le verbe *dicuntur* (placé en tête de vers) « souligne l'allusivité des vers 1 à 11 et intensifie leur demande d'être interprétés *comme* un système d'allusions » ; il peut selon lui être ainsi glosé : « (les pins) sont dits avoir..., non seulement dans la tradition, mais plus spécifiquement chez les auteurs qui m'ont précédé »¹³. Ce même procédé est répété chaque fois que le poète introduit un nouveau récit qu'il présente ainsi, de manière impersonnelle, comme le

¹¹ KLINGNER (1956) avait déjà repéré un grand nombre de reprises opérées par Catulle, mais n'aboutissait pas aux mêmes conclusions.

¹² HINDS (1998), p. 2, 18.

¹³ HINDS (1998), p. 2 et note 4.

produit d'une longue tradition indéfinie à laquelle il puise sans l'assumer pleinement et dont il montre qu'il peut en exploiter librement les variantes ou les failles : en font partie *fertur* (v. 19), *namque perhibent* (v. 76), *saepe ... perhibent* (v. 124), *namque ferunt*¹⁴ (v. 242). De cette mise à distance de la tradition relèvent également, me semble-t-il, les questions rhétoriques posées par le poète (v. 28-30) :

tene Thetis tenuit pulcherrima Nereine?
tene suam Tethys concessit ducere neptem,
Oceanusque, mari totum qui amplexitur orbem?

« Était-ce bien toi que Thétis la plus belle des Néréides tint dans ses bras ? Était-ce bien à toi que Téthys accorda de s'unir avec sa petite fille, ainsi que l'Océan qui encercle de ses eaux toute la terre ? » (trad. de l'auteur)

Ces questions, mises en relation avec le v. 20 (*tum Thetis humanos non despexit hymenaeos* ...), « Alors Thétis ne dédaigna pas l'hymen d'un mortel ... », peuvent, selon moi, être également interprétées comme des gloses que Catulle extrait de commentaires exégétiques interrogeant la variabilité des données de la tradition et qu'il intègre à sa narration pour souligner la liberté qui lui est donnée de façonner le récit à son gré¹⁵.

Les confidences que Catulle nous livre sur le dessein qu'il poursuit se manifestent par bien d'autres voies que celle de ces jeux allusifs, et notamment par l'inscription dans le poème d'un réseau d'images métapoétiques entrelacées qui toutes concernent la création poétique et, de ce fait, sont une composante importante de sa poétique auctoriale et de la stratégie de positionnement poétique qu'elle comporte : ce sont celle du tissage et celles, qui lui sont connexes, de la navigation sur mer et du parcours labyrinthique. C'est à Harrison que l'on doit la contribution décisive à l'exploration de la seconde. Dans son article *The Primal Voyage and the Ocean of Epos*, le savant anglais observe que, dans la section introductive du poème (v. 1-12), « le voyage d'Argo à travers les mers est présenté comme coextensif à sa représentation littéraire dans l'épopée », et que « l'épopée est représentée symboliquement comme un voyage »¹⁶. Harrison décèle en effet, dans cette ouverture, tout un ensemble de termes qui s'appliquent aussi bien à la navigation qu'à la représentation métaphorique de l'activité poétique : *cursu* (v. 11) ainsi que *decurrere* (v. 6) et *currum* (v. 9), évoquent le verbe *currere* qui en poésie désigne « l'avancée du poème » ; *aequor* (v. 6 et 12) représente non seulement la mer 'métaphorique' de l'épopée, mais

¹⁴ C'est avec cette même formule que Properce, faisant écho à Catulle, ouvre son récit de la mort d'Hylas lors de l'escale des Argonautes en Mysie : *namque ferunt olim Pagasae naualibus Argon / egressam longe Phasidos isse uiam* ... (1,20,17-18).

¹⁵ Dans la majorité des récits, par exemple, Thétis ne cède que contrainte et forcée et poursuit Pélée de son ressentiment : voir AP., *Arg.* 4,811-817.

¹⁶ HARRISON (2007) : « the sea-voyage of the Argo is presented as coextensive with its literary representation in epic: the epic is symbolized as the voyage ».

aussi une surface plane pour l'écriture ; de même, la métaphore du labourage associée au verbe *proscidit* (v. 12), qui convient à la représentation du navire fendant les flots et laissant un sillage derrière lui, peut également s'appliquer à l'écriture, la charrue ou le rostre assurant la même fonction que le *stilus* traçant un sillon de mots ; enfin l'adjectif *uentosum* semble faire allusion au topos de la tempête si constant dans l'épopée depuis l'*Odyssée*. Catulle établit ainsi, selon lui, une analogie entre la première navigation héroïque et la première navigation poétique¹⁷.

Il me semble possible de conforter l'analyse de Harrison en faisant observer que la référence au navire et à la navigation est récurrente dans l'*ekphrasis*¹⁸ du premier tableau comme si elle en rythmait l'organisation et le cours : c'est elle qui l'ouvre (v. 52-53) et le clôt par l'allusion à la fuite du navire de Thésée (v. 249), c'est elle également qui introduit le premier épisode de la '*Théséide*' catullienne avec la mention du départ d'Athènes et de l'arrivée en Crète du héros grec (v. 74-84) ainsi que celle de son retour à Athènes (v. 247-251), elle enfin qui inaugure la lamentation d'Ariane (v. 132-133) et celle d'Égée (v. 212-213), comme si le départ et l'arrivée d'un navire constituaient – nécessairement – le commencement et la fin d'un récit ou de l'épisode d'un récit¹⁹.

Peut-être peut-on aussi intégrer, à cette lecture métapoétique que Harrison interrompt avec le v. 11, les quatre vers suivants qui décrivent l'étonnement admiratif des Néréides découvrant le premier sillon tracé par le rostre d'Argo au moment du départ²⁰ :

*quae simul ac rostro uentosum proscidit aequor
tortaque remigio spumis incanuit unda,
emersere freti candenti e gurgite uultus
aequoreae monstrum Nereides admirantes.*

« À peine eut-il fendu de son éperon la plaine venteuse, à peine l'onde, retournée par les rames, se fut-elle blanchie d'écume, que les Néréides marines élevèrent leur visage hors du gouffre blanchissant, regardant avec étonnement le prodige. »
(trad. de l'auteur)

Il est, en effet, tentant d'associer cette évocation au réseau des images relatives à l'activité scripturale du poète épique et de l'interpréter comme son complément,

¹⁷ Voir aussi TARANTINO-CLÉMENT (2006), p. 550.

¹⁸ Sur l'*ekphrasis* elle-même on lira avec grand profit les deux études de DEROUX (1986a, 1986b) et celle de LAIRD (1993).

¹⁹ Voir, parmi d'autres, l'usage qu'en fera Ovide dans l'AA.

²⁰ Cf. l'imitation de ce passage par Virgile (*Én.* 8,90-93) : *ergo inter inceptum celerant rumore secundo; / labitur uncta uadis abies, mirantur et undae, / miratur nemus insuetum fulgentia longe / scuta uirum fluuiio pictasque innare carinas* ; cf. également le récit de la métamorphose des vaisseaux en 9,69-122 et l'apparition des nymphes en 10,215-286. Voir TARANTINO-CLÉMENT (2006), p. 548-549 et NELIS (2001), p. 224-226 (avec référence à AP, Arg. 4,930-996).

c'est-à-dire comme la représentation d'un acte lectorial : ce premier sillon tracé par le navire, les Néréides en sont les premières 'lectrices' et le *monstrum* qu'elles découvrent avec admiration est autant la geste extraordinaire qui s'écrit au gré de la marche du navire que l'événement prodigieux qui s'accomplit devant elles au moment même où il s'écrit. L'emploi de *monstrum* pour désigner un récit fabuleux n'est pas inconnu, semble-t-il, à l'époque : Lucrèce, par exemple, emploie l'expression *monstra ac portenta loquuntur* (4,590) pour qualifier les prodiges que croient entendre les campagnards et Cicéron, dans une lettre à Atticus (4,7,1), dit que Chérippe *mera monstra narrabat*²¹ à propos de nouvelles étranges qu'il lui avait rapportées. Cette mention possible d'une lecture par les Néréides du début de la geste en rejoint du reste une autre, celle qui apparaît explicitement au terme de l'*ekphrasis* quand le poète évoque le plaisir éprouvé par la jeunesse thessalienne devant le spectacle offert par le voile nuptial qui lui a raconté une si belle histoire (v. 265-268) :

*talibus amplifice*²² *uestis decorata figuris*
puluinar complexa suo uelabat amictu.
quae postquam cupide spectando Thessala pubes
expleta est, sanctis coepit decedere diuis.

« Telles étaient les figures magnifiques qui décoraient le voile dont les plis enveloppaient de tous côtés la couche nuptiale. Quand la jeunesse thessalienne eut rassasié de ce spectacle ses yeux avides, elle commença à céder la place aux divinités saintes. » (trad. de l'auteur)

Dans un cas comme dans l'autre, en mentionnant l'effet que des figures tracées ou tissées produisent sur ceux qui les contemplent, le poète inscrit au sein même de son poème des représentations de la réception admirative qu'il attend de ses propres lecteurs découvrant le *monstrum* qu'il a composé, comme il en va aussi, dans la seconde partie du poème consacrée au chant des Parques, de celle qu'il attend de ses auditeurs figurés en la personne de Pélée, le destinataire, avec les dieux, de ce chant.

Quant à l'hypothèse de Harrison selon laquelle il est possible de faire valoir « qu'une mise en évidence plus large de l'histoire littéraire est faite (dans ces vers), à savoir que le voyage des Argonautes a initié non seulement la navigation humaine, mais aussi la tradition épique classique »²³, elle me paraît, si pertinente qu'elle soit, pouvoir être précisée. Si l'on admet que le *prima* du

²¹ Voir aussi CIC., *Tusc.* 4,24,54.

²² *Amplifice* peut évoquer à la fois un style graphique et un style poétique, épique et/ou tragique.

²³ HARRISON (2007) : « But it could also be argued that a larger point of literary history is being made, namely that the voyage of the Argonauts initiated not only human sailing but also the classical epic tradition ». Cette hypothèse est également évoquée, mais repoussée par THEODORAKOPOULOS (2000), p. 127 : « the virginal Amphitrite is the ideal untravelled path, the Argo's 'first' journey therefore metaphorically the ideal

v. 11, comme l'ensemble des 21 vers liminaires, dépend du *dicuntur* initial, on pourra en déduire que Catulle ne prend pas plus à son compte cette assertion que toutes les autres, et la présente, ainsi que celle, par exemple, de l'assentiment que donna Thétis à ce mariage, comme une donnée empruntée à certaines versions du mythe, alors qu'il en est peut-être l'initiateur²⁴. C'est d'ailleurs à cette tradition (fictivement ?) évoquée par Catulle que se rattacheront Ovide et Valérius Flaccus qui, comme s'ils répondaient à Catulle, non seulement choisissent d'entériner la thèse de l'antériorité du voyage d'Argo, mais également la soulignent en plaçant l'adjectif *prima*, qui n'apparaît chez Catulle qu'au v.11, en tête de leurs narrations respectives :

*Prima malas docuit mirantibus aequoris undis
Peliaco pinus uertice caesa uias,
quae concurrentis inter temeraria cautes
conspiciam fuluo uellere uexit ouem.* (Ov., Am. 2,11,1-4)

« Le premier, il enseigna des voies funestes sur les flots étonnés de la mer, le pin arraché au sommet du Pélion, lui qui, s'engageant avec témérité entre les roches qui s'entrechoquent, transporta le bélier à la toison éclatante. » (trad. de l'auteur)

*Prima deum magnis canimus freta peruia natis
fatidicamque ratem, Scythici quae Phasidis oras
ausa sequi mediosque inter iuga concita cursus
rumpere flammifero tandem consedit Olympo.* (V.-Flac., Arg. 1,1-4)

« Pour la première fois parcourues par les puissants fils des dieux, je chante les mers, ainsi que le navire prophétique qui a osé rechercher les rives scythiques du Phase et se frayer une route entre les roches mobiles, pour s'établir enfin dans l'Olympe enflammé. » (trad. de l'auteur)

Cette remarque concernant l'impersonnalité du récit liminaire permet peut-être de trancher le débat qu'a soulevé l'apparente inconséquence chronologique de la narration catullienne qui, à quelques vers de distance, semble désigner comme

'original' poem. However, this poem is decidedly not original, and the sea in it is not untravelled ».

²⁴ Si l'on admet, comme me l'a fait remarquer ma collègue J. Fabre-Serris, que l'antériorité du voyage d'Argo ne figure dans aucune version antérieure « connue » du mythe, on pourra en déduire qu'il s'agit d'une innovation de Catulle (suivie par tous les poètes latins ultérieurs), mais d'une innovation présentée comme un emprunt : ses lecteurs pouvaient-ils démêler le vrai du faux ? Voir à ce sujet FABRE-SERRIS (2008), p. 167-175. Il semble possible toutefois d'émettre l'hypothèse que le débat sur l'antériorité du voyage d'Argo figurait au nombre de ceux qui alimentaient les commentaires et les exégèses des grammairiens, par exemple celui sur l'origine du nom d'Argo ou sur la participation d'Argus à la construction du navire : sur ces questions, Catulle semble suivre plus volontiers Ennius (qui précisément évoque ce débat quand il écrit au début de sa *Medea* : *neue inde nauis inchoandi exordium / coepisset, quae nunc nominatur nomine Argo / quia Argiui in ea delecti uiri / uecti ...*) qu'Apollonios, et c'est peut-être à lui que Catulle fait allusion en choisissant d'écrire *prima imbuit Amphitriten*.

premier le voyage des Argonautes alors qu'elle décrit la geste de Thésée comme celle d'antiques héros – expression que Catulle reprend d'ailleurs à Apollonios qui l'emploie à propos des Argonautes (*Arg.* 1,1 παλαιγενέων κλέα φωτῶν) –, geste par conséquent antérieure à celle de Pélée qui la contemple en compagnie de ses invités²⁵. En procédant de la sorte, c'est-à-dire en juxtaposant deux chronologies qu'il sait contradictoires et objets de débats savants, Catulle souhaite signifier, selon moi, qu'elles sont l'une et l'autre subjectives, et donc manipulables et falsifiables, et qu'il convient, quand il s'agit d'élaborer l'histoire d'un genre ou d'une pratique poétiques, de prendre en compte non pas la chronologie relative, et donc problématique²⁶, des événements racontés, mais celle des récits qui en sont faits. Du point de vue de la création poétique, peu importe de savoir si la navigation des Argonautes a initié la navigation humaine : ce qui compte c'est d'identifier l'œuvre à partir de laquelle d'autres ont pu s'engendrer, celle qui est dotée de la plus grande productivité poétique et, *a fortiori*, de la plus grande capacité d'intégration. Ce que montre, en effet, la composition de ce *carmen*, c'est que cette œuvre originelle²⁷ est bien une 'argonautique', ou plutôt la somme de deux 'argonautiques' complémentaires, celle de Pélée et celle de Thésée, l'une et l'autre également fécondes puisque d'elles naît la tradition poétique tout entière, épique et tragique²⁸.

De ce point de vue, il me semble nécessaire de revenir sur l'opinion – souvent partagée – que ces deux histoires sont axiologiquement antithétiques, que l'une est positive (Thétis et Pélée) et l'autre négative (Ariane et Thésée). C'est oublier qu'elles reposent sur un même schéma narratif (voyage par mer vers une contrée inhospitalière pour accomplir un exploit, assistance de la fille du roi, meurtre du frère de cette princesse...) et qu'elles comportent nombre de traits communs²⁹ parmi lesquels les unions présentées comme heureuses d'une divinité (Thétis et Bacchus) et d'un(e) mortel(le) (Pélée et Ariane³⁰), unions qui

²⁵ Sur les réponses apportées par les critiques, voir O'HARA (2007), p. 34-35 ; Feeney, quant à lui, a suggéré que l'histoire représentée sur le drap nuptial devait être interprétée comme une prophétie, voir THEODORAKOPOULOS (2000), note 26. Une autre hypothèse serait qu'Argo a été le premier navire à traverser une mer jusque-là inconnue, c'est-à-dire le Pont auquel le qualificatif de *rudis* peut convenir.

²⁶ On retrouvera un même débat autour de la question du moment de la rencontre entre Pélée et Thétis, antérieure ou postérieure au voyage d'Argo ; voir JOLIVET (2008), § 18.

²⁷ Voir DEREMETZ (2014).

²⁸ Sur l'*ekphrasis* comme tragédie voir TRIMBLE (2009).

²⁹ Voir récemment HUGHES (2015), p. 23-24.

³⁰ L'union d'Ariane avec Dionysos sera suivie d'une nombreuse descendance et de l'immortalisation de l'héroïne. Cette version est à mettre en relation avec celle d'APOLLODORE (*Bibl.* 1,8 sq.) qui s'inspire de celle de PHÉRÉCYDE connue par une scholie à l'*Odyssée* (3 F 148 JACOBY = Scholies de l'*Odyssée*, XI, 322 DINDORF) : « Thésée prend Ariane et embarque aussi sur le navire les jeunes gens et les jeunes filles, pour qui le moment d'être livrés au Minotaure n'était pas encore venu. Cela fait, il part au milieu

rappellent, l'une comme l'autre, les temps bénis où les dieux fréquentaient les mortels (v. 384-386) ; mais – autre point commun – elles incluent également les trahisons de héros, celle de Thésée, longuement racontée, comme celle, implicite, de Jason (voire celle de Thétis³¹), sources l'une comme l'autre de deux tragédies, celles d'Ariane et de Médée, qui préfigurent les temps où règneront l'injustice et l'infidélité des hommes³².

À la différence du précédent, le registre métaphorique³³ du labyrinthe est présenté comme tel par Catulle au moyen d'une étonnante intervention auctoriale qui interrompt brutalement le récit de la sortie victorieuse de Thésée (v. 112-117) :

*inde pedem sospes multa cum laude reflexit
errabunda regens tenui uestigia filo,
ne labyrinthis e flexibus egredientem
tecti frustraretur inobseruabilis error.
sed quid ego a primo digressus carmine plura
commemorem ...*

« Puis, sain et sauf et couvert de gloire, (Thésée) revint sur ses pas, dirigeant ses pas errants à l'aide d'un fil ténu afin de pouvoir sortir des détours du labyrinthe sans se laisser égarer par le dédale trompeur de la demeure. Mais pourquoi m'écarterais-je du premier sujet de mon chant et dirais-je en des vers plus nombreux comment ... » (trad. de l'auteur)

En choisissant d'utiliser le terme *digressus*, Catulle montre clairement qu'il établit une analogie étroite entre le cheminement de Thésée dans le labyrinthe et celui qu'il accomplit dans son poème. *Digressus*, terme technique qui désigne un manquement à la règle de la composition poétique ou son résultat, la digression³⁴, reprend en effet, en le concentrant, le réseau lexical tissé dans les trois vers précédents : *errabunda uestigia*, *flexibus*, *egredientem*, *error*, appartiennent tous au lexique de la marche, tantôt dirigée (*regens*), tantôt vagabonde (*error*). Il est donc permis de penser que, par ce jeu de mots qui motive l'intrusion du

de la nuit. Il aborde à l'île de Dia, débarque et se couche sur la plage. Athéna se dresse près de lui et lui ordonne de laisser Ariane et de partir pour Athènes. À l'instant il se relève et s'exécute. À Ariane qui se lamente Aphrodite apparaît et elle l'exhorte à prendre courage : elle va être l'épouse de Dionysos et devenir célèbre. Puis le dieu lui apparaît et lui donne une couronne d'or, que, par la suite, les dieux changèrent en constellation, pour faire plaisir à Dionysos » (trad. et commentaire de CARRIÈRE / MASSONIE).

³¹ Catulle ne se fait pas l'écho de la variante qui évoque l'abandon de Pélée par Thétis.

³² La dénonciation d'Ariane (v. 143-148) anticipe le constat amer dressé par Catulle (v. 397-408).

³³ Parmi les nombreuses études sur le labyrinthe chez Catulle, voir entre autres LESUEUR (1990) ; DEREMETZ (1995) ; THEODORAKOPOULOS (2000) ; GAISSE (2007).

³⁴ THEODORAKOPOULOS (2000), p. 125 préfère parler d'égression.

discours dans le récit, le poète pointe la dimension métaphorique de l'épisode du labyrinthe et, par-delà, du poème tout entier : comme Thésée qui a su, grâce au fil d'Ariane, diriger ses pas pour ne pas errer indéfiniment dans les détours du labyrinthe, il doit lui aussi tenir le fil de son récit pour ne pas s'écarter de sa route.

Mis en relation avec les vers qui suivent, le message poétique que délivre Catulle (v. 116–131) s'avère pourtant également surprenant, et ceci doublement :

*sed quid ego a primo digressus carmine plura
commemorem, ut linquens genitoris filia uultum,
ut consanguineae complexum, ut denique matris,
quae misera in gnata deperdita laetabatur
omnibus his Thesei dulcem praeoptarit amorem,
aut ut uecta rati spumosa ad litora Diae
uenerit, aut ut eam deuinctam lumina somno
liquerit immemori discedens pectore coniunx?
saepe illam perhibent ardenti corde furem
clarisonas imo fudisse e pectore uoces,
ac tum praeruptos tristem conscendere montes,
unde aciem pelagi uastos protenderet aestus,
tum tremuli salis aduersas procurrare in undas
mollia nudatae tollentem tegmina surae,
atque haec extremis maestam dixisse querellis,
frigidulos udo singultus ore cientem.*

« Mais pourquoi m'écarterais-je du premier sujet de mon chant et dirais-je en des vers plus nombreux comment, fuyant le visage de son père, les embrassements de sa sœur et enfin ceux de sa mère, éperdue, dont la malheureuse fille faisait la joie, Ariane a préféré à toutes ces biens le doux amour de Thésée, comment elle fut transportée sur un navire jusqu'aux rivages écumeux de Dia, ou comment, alors que le sommeil lui liait les yeux, son époux oublieux l'abandonna en s'enfuyant ? On raconte que souvent, son cœur brûlant de fureur, elle poussait du fond de sa poitrine des cris retentissants et que tantôt elle gravissait, triste, des montagnes escarpées, d'où sa vue pouvait s'étendre sur les vastes flots de la mer, et tantôt elle courait au-devant des ondes de la mer agitée, soulevant sur sa jambe dénudée son souple vêtement et, éplorée, dans ses dernières lamentations, le visage baigné de larmes, poussant des sanglots glacés, elle prononçait ces paroles. » (trad. de l'auteur)

Surprenant d'abord par la mention du *primum carmen* : à quoi Catulle fait-il allusion ? aux noces de Thétis et de Pélée ? mais alors pourquoi le *secundum carmen*, s'il s'agit de l'histoire d'Ariane, se poursuit-il sur 117 vers avant que le poète aborde à nouveau ce premier sujet ? à l'*ekphrasis* d'Ariane abandonnée ? L'hypothèse est, en effet, plus probable, car, si l'on considère l'ensemble du passage qui précède le monologue d'Ariane, on remarquera que les v. 124–131 introduits par le *saepe illam perhibent* constituent bien un retour à ce *primum carmen* – que l'on traduira alors par « le début de ce récit » – puisqu'ils

reprennent et poursuivent l'évocation, qui précisément ouvrait l'*ekphrasis*, d'Ariane abandonnée sur le rivage, en la montrant scrutant les flots (v. 52-62 et v. 127), hors d'elle-même (v. 70-72 et v. 124), et à nouveau semblable à une bacchante qui, après être restée figée comme une statue (v. 11), court désormais en proie au délire dionysiaque (v. 126-129)³⁵. Et c'est bien sur les v. 117-124, qui seuls dépendent grammaticalement de l'interrogation *quid ... commemorem ut*, que porte l'intervention auctoriale : eux seuls, en effet, concluent de manière abrégée le *secundum carmen*, c'est-à-dire le récit de la 'Théséide' ouvert au v. 76 par l'expression *nam perhibent* à laquelle fait écho précisément l'expression *saepe illam perhibent* qui en marque la fin provisoire. Catulle a ainsi voulu montrer que ce récit n'est qu'une digression qu'il était nécessaire de clôturer pour que vienne enfin ce qui constitue pour lui le moment important de son *ekphrasis* : le monologue d'Ariane. Monologue important en effet, comme le sera le chant des Parques, car c'est par lui que l'*ekphrasis*, tout autant qu'elle fait voir, fait entendre ἐναργῶς, réalisant ainsi pleinement l'objectif poétique qu'on attend d'elle : donner l'illusion totale de la présence. Mais ce message est surprenant aussi parce que Catulle poursuit son récit en en évoquant les principaux épisodes. Que peut-il donc viser si ce n'est attirer l'attention sur le procédé qu'il emploie, la prétérition, pour souligner une nouvelle fois la dette qu'il contracte envers la technique narrative des poètes alexandrins ?

Dans l'image du labyrinthe, le cheminement n'est pas la seule métaphore associée à la création poétique : lui coexiste celle du tissage à laquelle il convient de s'intéresser maintenant. Le labyrinthe, comme l'écrira Virgile (*Én.* 5,589), est un *textum ... iter*³⁶ (« un parcours tissé »), autant dire un texte. L'idée apparaît déjà

³⁵ C'est sur cette même scène d'Ariane sur le rivage que se clôt le premier tableau de l'*ekphrasis* aux v. 249-250.

³⁶ Avec Catulle, c'est donc la métaphore du labyrinthe, en ce qu'il est un chemin tissé, qui semble convenir à la conception du texte propre aux poètes alexandrins. Elle connaîtra une grande fortune, chez Virgile notamment qui la reprend et l'exploite en deux occasions. Par deux fois, en effet, Virgile se souvient de Catulle et le montre une première fois quand, dans l'épisode des jeux du livre V de l'*Énéide*, il évoque un autre *textum iter*, celui des cavaliers du *Ludus Troiae* et que, se référant au labyrinthe de Crète, il paraphrase l'*inobseruabilis error* de Catulle en un *inremeabilis error*, en même position finale dans le vers (*Én.* 5,591). Plus qu'un motif poétique ou qu'une étymologie, cette parade « où les fils des Troyens entremêlent leurs pas, enlacent, en jouant, des échappées et des combats » (*uestigia impediunt texuntque fugas et proelia ludo*) est une figure de l'épopée, comme elle « simulacre d'un combat armé » et, comme elle, errance dont seul le poète tient le fil afin que jamais ne soient menacés l'ordre et la clôture de son texte ; voir DEREMETZ (1993). Virgile le montre une seconde fois, et de façon particulièrement appuyée, puisqu'il reprend le thème du labyrinthe dans l'épisode presque immédiatement consécutif à cette cérémonie finale des jeux de Sicile (*Én.* 6,20-33). Arrivé à Cumès, Énée se rend au temple d'Apollon pour y rencontrer la Sibylle ; Virgile rapporte alors la légende qui attribue la fondation du temple à Dédale et décrit les tableaux qui ornent les panneaux des portes. Sur l'un de ces panneaux sont représentées – ce n'est pas un hasard – la légende de Thésée et du Minotaure et « cette demeure qui coûta tant

ici : en décrivant Thésée « dirigeant ses pas errants à l'aide d'un fil ténu dans les détours du labyrinthe », Catulle assimile implicitement son parcours à celui du fil sur un métier à tisser³⁷. Loin d'être isolée, cette référence au fil³⁸ s'insère en outre dans un ensemble complexe qui multiplie les allusions à des voiles tissés (voile nuptial, v. 50, 265 ; vêtement d'Ariane, v. 64, 68 ; couverture du lit de Thésée, v. 168 ; voile du navire, v. 225, 234 ; vêtement des Parques, v. 307³⁹) et à des tissages successifs parmi lesquels il faut compter sans doute celui du navire dont « les pins assemblés forment la trame de sa carène » (v. 10) et celui du voile de verdure que confectionne Pénée (v. 292-293):

*haec circum sedes late contexta locauit
uestibulum ut molli uelatum fronde uireret.*

« Il a entrelacé leurs rameaux tout autour de la demeure, pour que leur doux feuillage décore le vestibule d'un voile de verdure. » (trad. de l'auteur)

Mais, parmi ces allusions, il en est une qui prend un relief singulier par la longueur du développement qui lui est consacré : c'est la scène qui décrit le tissage, ou plutôt le filage des Parques au cours de la seconde partie de la cérémonie nuptiale qui se déroule en présence des dieux (v. 311-322) :

*laeua (manus) colum molli lana retinebat amictum,
dextera tum leuiter deducens fila supinis
formabat digitis, tum prono in pollice torquens
libratum tereti uersabat turbine fusum,
atque ita decerpens aequabat semper opus dens,
laneaque aridulis haerebant morsa labellis,
quae prius in leui fuerant extantia filo;
ante pedes autem candentis mollia lanae
uelleram uirgati custodibant calathisci.
haec tum clarisona pellentes uelleram uoce
taliam diuino fuderunt carmine fata,
carmine perfidiae quod post nulla arguet aetas.*

« De la main gauche, elles tenaient la quenouille couverte de laine moelleuse ; leur droite, étirant légèrement les brins, les façonnait de ses doigts relevés ou, les tordant sur son pouce abaissé, faisait tourner le fuseau équilibré par son peson bien rond ; et, ce faisant, leur dent ne cessait de détacher les barbes de laine pour égaliser leur ouvrage et sur leurs lèvres sèches restaient attachés les brins qui, avant, dépassaient de la surface lisse du fil ; à leurs pieds, les flocons moelleux de laine blanche emplissaient des paniers d'osier. Alors, tout en poussant les

d'efforts et son lacs inextricable » ; et il utilise une nouvelle paraphrase de l'expression catullienne, l'*inextricabilis error*. Trois vers plus loin, d'ailleurs, l'imitation se précise, *errabunda regens tenui uestigia filo* devenant *caeca regens filo uestigia*.

³⁷ SCHEID (1994), p. 109 et DEREMETZ (1995), p. 99.

³⁸ Sur l'emploi de *filum* voir aussi v. 312, 317, 377.

³⁹ Sur la référence aux tissus chez Catulle, voir LAIRD (1993), p. 25-28.

flocons, de leur voix sonore elles prononcèrent les destins que voici en un chant divin, un chant qu'aucune génération future ne convaincra jamais de mensonge. »
(trad. de l'auteur)

Et chacun des couplets de leur chant se termine par le même refrain (v. 326, 333, 337, 342, 347, 352, 356, 361, 365, 371, 375, 378, 381):

*sed uos, quae fata sequuntur,
currite ducentes subtegmina, currite, fusi.*

« Courez en étirant les fils de la trame que suivent les destinées, courez, fuseaux. »
(trad. de l'auteur)

Mais ces Parques, que filent-elles donc ? La réponse est donnée à trois reprises : elles filent un chant divin destiné à annoncer à Pélée son heureux destin (*ueridicos cantus*, v. 306 ; *diuino carmine*, v. 321 ; *felicia carmina*, v. 383), en rythmant sa marche hélicoïdale au gré de la course des fuseaux. Il n'y a donc pas de séparation entre les deux activités, artisanale et poétique, des Parques : c'est « en étirant légèrement les brins ... et en leur donnant forme » (v. 312-313) qu'elles « font entendre leur chant véridique » (*ueridicos coeperunt edere cantus*, v. 306). Catulle reprend ainsi à son compte la métaphore du filage et celle qui lui est associée du tissage du chant que, depuis la plus haute antiquité, les aèdes et les poètes ont employée pour représenter leur activité créatrice, que celle-ci s'effectuât avec ou sans l'utilisation de l'écriture⁴⁰. Nombreux sont les poètes latins⁴¹ qui vont suivre son exemple, tel Virgile qui, dans la 6^e bucolique⁴², la réactive en créant une expression originale, *deductum dicere carmen* (« dire un chant fin comme un fil », v. 5), pour décrire le tissage de ses *Bucoliques* avec un fil ténu, ou tel Horace qui parle de *tenui deducta poemata filo*, « poèmes tissés d'un fin fil » (*Epist.* 2,1,225).

Or cette mention du « fil fin », présente dans l'expression *leuiter deducens fila*, qui décrit la mise en forme des fils par étirement des brins de laine, complétée au v. 316-317 par celle du « fil léger » dont les Parques détachent les aspérités avec leur bouche et qui fait écho au « fil ténu » (*tenui filo*, v. 113) donné par Ariane à Thésée, contient une information poétologique qui a été souvent relevée : par l'ajout de ces deux adjectifs *leuis* et *tenuis*⁴³ qui traduisent en latin le grec *leptaleos*⁴⁴ par lequel Callimaque qualifiait sa nouvelle conception

⁴⁰ Ainsi le rhapsode s'assimile-t-il à la fileuse quand il recommande : *On ne doit pas m'arracher le fil quand je tisse un chant* ; voir SCHMITT (1967), p. 300.

⁴¹ Voir notamment les *Buc.* 6 et 10 de VIRGILE, le Livre 2 des *Géorg.* (v. 45-46), les deux épisodes, 6,1-145 (Pallas et Arachné) et 7,576-583 (la tapisserie parlante de Philomèle) des *Mét.* d'OVIDE, deux passages des élégies de TIBULLE (2,1,59-66) et de PROPERCE (3,3,35-36).

⁴² Voir DEREMETZ (1995), p. 289-314.

⁴³ Voir KLEIN (2008).

⁴⁴ L'adjectif signifie « fin » en parlant d'un tissu, « léger », voire « grêle », en parlant d'un chant.

esthétique de la poésie dans l'*Invective aux Telchines* (Ait., v. 24), Catulle réaffirme sa conception alexandrine de la poésie, comme le laissait présager le choix initial d'un sujet placé sous l'égide d'Apollonios. Aussi peut-on penser que cette finesse du fil que les Parques façonnent en faisant tourner leurs fuseaux qualifie également le chant prophétique qu'elles tissent, c'est-à-dire le 'texte' de Catulle lui-même qui, fictivement, le rapporte⁴⁵. Et ce chant-texte adressé à Pélée, que contient-il ? Tout d'abord une sorte d'épithalame qui apparaît dès le début (v. 328-337) dans l'annonce du tissage sexuel qui va s'accomplir dans la demeure de Pélée, à l'approche d'Hespérus – figure habituelle invoquée dans les épithalames, comme en témoigne le *carmen* 62 (voir v. 1-2 ; 20-24 ; 26 ; 32 ; 35) –, puis, en clôture du chant, dans l'exhortation faite à la déesse de céder au désir de son mari ; enfin, insérée dans cet épithalame (v. 338-371), la prophétie véridique (*ueredicum oraclum*, v. 326) qu'en quelque sorte les Parques 'écrivent', et qui dit la geste à venir du fils qui leur naîtra, Achille.

Pour composer cette prédiction, Catulle a emprunté aux poèmes homériques un certain nombre d'expressions éparses et de scènes typiques⁴⁶ : à l'*Illiade*⁴⁷, celles qui illustrent quelques épisodes de l'aristie d'Achille, à l'*Odyssée*⁴⁸ (mais aussi à des représentations figurées), l'évocation de ses funérailles. Parmi ces emprunts à la tradition homérique, notons, après la mention de son nom et la reprise, au v. 339, de la description, très générale, du héros étranger à la peur (*expers terroris*) donnée par Idoménée au chant 13 (v. 288-289) de l'*Illiade*, l'allusion à son épithète la plus connue, *πόδας ὠκύς* (Il. 1,58), développée sur deux vers⁴⁹ (v. 340-341) qui rappellent plus particulièrement sans doute la scène de la fuite d'Hector poursuivi par Achille au chant 22 ; l'allusion aussi à la supériorité d'Achille sur tous les guerriers grecs (*non illi quisquam bello se conferet heros*, v. 343) souvent attestée dans la tradition posthomérique, mais qui n'apparaît pas explicitement dans l'*Illiade* où la question de savoir qui est l'*Ἀχαιῶν ἄριστος* ne concerne pas Achille, alors absent des combats, mais Diomède, Ajax et Ménélas⁵⁰ ; l'évocation des funérailles⁵¹, peu présente dans l'*Illiade* si l'on excepte le long développement consacré à celles de Patrocle au

⁴⁵ Comparer avec la scène représentant Pallas et Arachné dans *Mét.* 6,1-145.

⁴⁶ Voir parmi d'autres STOEVESSANDT (1994/1995).

⁴⁷ KLINGNER (1956), p. 30-31.

⁴⁸ Mais l'allusion tragique au sacrifice de Polyxène renvoie sans doute à Euripide (*Héc.*).

⁴⁹ PIND., *Ném.* 3,50-52.

⁵⁰ Les trois seules aristies qui sont signalées dans les manuscrits sont celles de Diomède (5), d'Agamemnon (11) et de Ménélas (17). Mais peut-être peut-on lire cette affirmation en filigrane dans le propos de Thétis aux Néréides quand elle parle d'un fils « supérieur aux héros » (18,56 *ἔξοχον ἡρώων*) ou dans celui qu'Agamemnon adresse à son frère pour l'empêcher de relever le défi lancé par Hector quand il lui dit qu'Achille lui-même, pourtant meilleur que lui, craint d'affronter Hector (7,114).

⁵¹ Ce passage sera imité par Stace dans son *Achilléide* (1,84-87).

chant 18 et la scène finale des funérailles d'Hector (chant 24) ; l'image du moissonneur⁵² qui au chant 11 de l'*Illiade* est appliquée aux deux armées en présence ; celle du massacre du Scamandre (*Il.* 21,16-61), la seule qui soit désignée explicitement par les Parques ; celle des funérailles d'Achille, qui n'apparaissent que dans l'*Odyssée*, par l'évocation qu'en fait l'ombre d'Agamemnon au début du chant 24 ; et enfin celle du sacrifice de Polyxène sur la tombe d'Achille, dont il n'est pas question dans les poèmes homériques, mais que l'on trouve surtout comme motif iconographique⁵³ et comme scène de tragédie ainsi qu'en témoignent la *Polyxène* – aujourd'hui perdue – de Sophocle et l'*Hécube* Euripide.

Pourtant, bien qu'elle possède d'indéniables accents homériques, cette prédiction n'annonce pas l'*Illiade* dont elle tait nombre d'éléments importants, la présence de Patrocle par exemple, tout en ajoutant d'autres qui n'y figurent pas, ni même à proprement parler une *Achilléide*, à l'image de celle que Stace ébauchera, car elle omet tout ce qui est relatif à la jeunesse d'Achille, aux premières années de la guerre de Troie⁵⁴ ainsi qu'aux circonstances de la mort du héros. Sans doute des récits qui incluaient tel ou tel de ces événements ont-ils existé dans le cycle troyen, qu'il s'agisse des *Chants Cypriens* ou de l'*Éthiopide* complétée par l'*Ilioupersis* d'Arctinos ; mais aucun ne correspond au schéma narratif que 'tissent' les Parques. Peut-on déduire de ces écarts que ce schéma narratif désigne une œuvre non encore écrite, une œuvre nouvelle dont les Parques fournissent l'argument et ébauchent la trame, en la montrant tout entière centrée sur l'aristie du héros, et seulement sur elle, depuis son épiphanie héroïque à Troie jusqu'à sa mort glorieuse ? et que, ce faisant, elles jouent le rôle de 'figures auctoriales' qui, comparables à des Muses, énoncent un programme poétique⁵⁵, un programme que Thétis et Pélée sont en train de 'mettre en œuvre', en enfantant Achille ?

Il nous semble, en effet, qu'après avoir filé avec ingéniosité la métaphore du tissage du texte, Catulle dévoile l'un de ses prolongements métapoétiques, le tissage sexuel qui sert de fondement à une autre métaphore souvent utilisée par les poètes anciens pour représenter la création poétique, celle de l'enfantement qui fait d'une œuvre le fils ou la fille de son (ses) auteur(s). Comme l'a bien montré Scheid⁵⁶, le recours à cette métaphore repose souvent sur l'analogie postulée par les Anciens entre diverses activités liées au tissage : l'union sexuelle des époux qui conduit à l'engendrement d'un enfant, le croisement par la tisserande de la chaîne et de la trame qui permet la fabrication d'un tissu, et

⁵² Elle se trouve aussi dans les *Argonautiques* d'Apollonios de Rhodes, à propos de Jason luttant contre les hommes armés nés des dents du dragon (3,1386-1387).

⁵³ Voir, par exemple, l'amphore tyrrhénienne à figures noires du « Peintre de Timiadès », Londres, British Museum (1897.7-27.2).

⁵⁴ Ce que l'on trouve, par exemple, dans les *Chants Cypriens*.

⁵⁵ Sur cette question, voir en particulier DEREMETZ (1995), 1^e partie, chap. II.

⁵⁶ SCHEID in SCHEID / SVENBRO (1994), *passim*.

notamment du voile nuptial, et la 'confection' opérée par le poète du *textus* poétique qui est lui-même à l'image du papyrus tissé qui le supporte. Si le récit des événements qui conduisent à l'enfantement d'Achille par Thétis et Pélée est aussi celui qui annonce la venue d'un poème qui en célébrera la valeur héroïque, alors ces deux héros sont aussi les parents du poème à venir, ses auteurs : ce sont eux qui, en tant qu'ils sont à l'origine de sa destinée, écrivent en s'unissant sa geste que prophétisent les Parques.

La présence récurrente, dans le poème, d'images qui toutes ressortissent à la création poétique permet, semble-t-il, d'émettre l'hypothèse que ce *carmen* s'ouvre à deux niveaux de lecture, étroitement solidaires, et qu'à chacun de ces niveaux correspond un manifeste : le premier, d'ordre éthique, érige en modèle matrimonial l'union harmonieuse et féconde qui porte la promesse de la naissance d'un enfant héroïque ; le second relève d'un art poétique, en ce qu'il promeut un modèle d'écriture qui se révèle par l'exhibition thématisée et commentée d'une technique narrative et stylistique : avec l'image de la navigation, c'est une mise en scène de l'écriture poétique qui est présentée, avec celles du labyrinthe et du tissage, c'est la figuration d'un parcours poétique qui est esquissée et avec le chant des Parques, c'est un sujet et son traitement qui sont évoqués.

Il convient désormais d'inclure dans le débat un élément dont on ne peut taire l'importance, la section finale du poème où, parlant en son propre nom, le poète passe du narratif au discursif pour commenter son propre récit, conférant ainsi à l'ensemble de son poème un statut comparable à celui d'un apologue composé d'une fable et d'une morale ou, comme le disaient les Anciens, d'un *muthos* et d'un *epimuthion*⁵⁷. Dans ce commentaire moral, le poète s'emploie non seulement à révéler le statut et le sens qu'il donne à sa fable, mais également, selon moi, à évoquer la circonstance qui en justifie la production et, partant, à dessiner en filigrane la situation de communication, fictive ou réelle, qui l'associe à ses destinataires.

Le contenu de ce finale est particulièrement instructif ; le poète y déplore la disparition de ces temps heureux où les dieux fréquentaient les hommes et y fustige son époque où règnent l'impiété et le crime (v. 401-406) :

(*sed postquam*) ...
optauit genitor primaevi funera nati
liber ut innuptae poteretur flore nouercae.
ignaro mater substernens se impia nato
impia non uerita est diuos scelerare penates.
omnia fanda nefanda malo permixta furore
iustificam nobis mentem auertere deorum.
quare nec tales dignantur uisere coetus.
nec se contingi patiuntur lumine claro.

⁵⁷ Termes que les Latins traduisent par *fabula* et *affabulatio*.

« (Mais, depuis que) ... le père a souhaité voir les funérailles de son fils dans la fleur de l'âge pour pouvoir librement ravir la fleur d'une vierge ; depuis qu'une mère impie, oui impie, partageant la couche de son fils à son insu, n'a pas craint de profaner ses dieux pénates, toutes ces infamies d'une folie perverse qui ne distingue plus la vertu et le crime ont détourné de nous les justes dieux. » (trad. de l'auteur)

L'évocation nostalgique du bonheur passé qui précède cette déploration fait écho à la première intervention de l'auteur qui, au début du récit, a fait allusion aux temps heureux où naissaient les héros (v. 22-24) :

*o nimis optato saeculorum tempore nati
heroes, salute, deum genus, o bona matrum
progenies salute iterumque iterumque bonarum.*

« Ô vous qui êtes nés en des siècles si enviables, héros, je vous salue, race divine, ô noble descendance de nobles mères, je vous salue encore et encore. » (trad. de l'auteur)

L'opposition axiologique forte que le poète établit entre la temporalité propre à l'histoire racontée (les siècles heureux du passé mythique) et le temps même de sa narration (le présent où règnent le crime et l'injustice) sous-tend ainsi le poème tout entier. Elle est de toute évidence interprétable au niveau du contenu éthique du poème : puisqu'aux unions légitimes et fécondes du passé ont succédé les accouplements impies du présent, le temps de l'héroïsme et des actions exemplaires est révolu, il n'y a désormais plus de héros dont on pourrait chanter les exploits. Mais elle est interprétable également au niveau poétique : le temps des épopées historiques célébrant tel ou tel haut fait romain – comme celles que s'acharnent à composer en des milliers de vers grossiers des Volusius, des Sulfénus et des Hortensius⁵⁸ – est lui aussi révolu. Le présent impose d'autres genres, comme l'épyllion à sujet mythologique que Catulle vient précisément d'illustrer⁵⁹, et sans doute aussi l'iambe dénonciateur des vices du temps ou la plaintive élégie⁶⁰ qui en déplore les malheurs ; il impose aussi d'autres manières de raconter, comme Catulle lui-même l'a montré dans son *carmen* et également, pourquoi ne pas le supposer, dans l'esquisse de poème héroïque – d'épyllion ? – qu'il a mis dans la bouche des Parques ; il impose enfin d'autres sujets, comme les histoires de fraticide, d'infanticide ou d'inceste⁶¹, comme celle qui a fourni à Cinna la matière de sa *Smyrna* longuement travaillée⁶².

Dans un tel contexte il est dès lors tentant d'admettre que Catulle délivre sous le voile moral du poème un art poétique en acte – à la manière alexandrine –

⁵⁸ Voir *carm.* 14, 22, 36, 65, 95.

⁵⁹ Et que Calvus illustrera avec son *Io*.

⁶⁰ Voir entre autres *carm.* 38, 50.

⁶¹ Voir LAFAYE / BARBAUD (2017), p. 268.

⁶² Voir *carm.* 95.

qui véhicule deux messages : le premier, qui concerne l'histoire littéraire, est celui de la nécessaire solidarité d'un genre ou d'une œuvre avec son temps – l'idéal de la poésie grecque est désormais inaccessible⁶³ – ; le second est poétique en ce qu'il définit par l'exemple une pratique nouvelle fondée sur des critères artistiques hérités de Callimaque, particulièrement la brièveté, l'*urbanitas* et le *labor*.

Rapportée à la question initiale qui était de déterminer la 'circonstance' qu'évoque ou présuppose ce poème, et donc d'identifier les destinataires auxquels il s'adresse, la conclusion qu'impose cette analyse est qu'elle est le produit d'une scénographie caractérisée par l'affichage d'une poétique auctoriale normative et revendicative en matière de choix et de procédés poétiques. Il semble dès lors possible de supposer que cette circonstance, qu'elle soit réelle ou fictive⁶⁴, est celle d'une performance poétique qui emprunte le cadre d'une *recitatio*⁶⁵ ou d'un *convivium*⁶⁶ rassemblant des *sodales* et des *amici*⁶⁷ eux-mêmes poètes auxquels Catulle, en tant que chef de file et porte-parole, délivre, en l'illustrant, un manifeste de l'art poétique néotérique. Que dire alors de la dimension matrimoniale du poème ? Pourrait-elle justifier une mise en relation avec une autre catégorie de destinataires, un jeune couple à l'occasion d'une naissance ou d'un mariage, comme c'est le cas du *carmen* 61 avec lequel l'épithalame des Parques présente de fait nombre de points communs ? La condamnation sans nuance des hommes de son époque (*omnes*) que prononce Catulle au terme de son *carmen* permet d'en douter (v. 397-398) :

*sed postquam tellus scelere est imbuta nefando
iustitiamque omnes cupida de mente fugarunt ...*

« Mais depuis que le crime impie a souillé la terre et que tous les hommes ont chassé la justice de leurs âmes passionnées ... » (trad. de l'auteur)

Une telle initiative de sa part serait pour le moins inconvenante et assurée d'être mal perçue par de tels destinataires. Par contre, si l'on considère que Catulle a eu recours à la métaphore de l'union sexuelle pour évoquer l'acte de création poétique, on pourra alors considérer qu'il s'adresse, dans ce cadre d'une *recitatio* privée, à un couple de poètes pour lui suggérer de produire une œuvre à l'image de celle qu'il lui a offerte. De tels couples existaient : on peut en avoir pour preuve celui que formaient Cécilius et sa *sapphica puella musa doctior* à

⁶³ Voir LAFAYE / BARBAUD (2017), p. 269.

⁶⁴ Il importe peu de savoir si cette circonstance coïncide avec une occasion réelle précise : l'essentiel est qu'elle corresponde à une pratique habituelle dans les cercles de poètes.

⁶⁵ Voir parmi d'autres le *carm.* 44.

⁶⁶ Voir *carm.* 12, 13, 50.

⁶⁷ Voir *carm.* 10, 12, 30, 35, 47.

qui Catulle envoie un poème-lettre, le *carmen* 35⁶⁸, ou, si l'on suit l'hypothèse formulée par Stevenson⁶⁹, celui qui unissait son ami Camérius⁷⁰ à la poétesse Cornificia, sœur du poète Q. Cornificius⁷¹, qui faisait elle-même partie, autour de Catulle, du cercle des *noui poetae*. Doit-on alors s'étonner que le poète callimaquéen de Vérone puisse se livrer à un jeu poétique aussi subtilement voilé ?

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⁶⁸ Voir *carm.* 35 : « Au tendre poète Cécilius, mon camarade, je voudrais, papyrus, que tu dises de venir à Vérone, abandonnant les murs de Côme la Neuve et les rives du Larius : car je veux lui suggérer certaines réflexions d'un de ses amis qui est aussi le mien. Donc s'il est sage, il dévorera la route, quand bien même sa blanche maîtresse le rappellerait mille fois au moment du départ et, lui jetant les deux mains autour du cou, le supplierait de rester, elle qui en ce moment même, si ce que l'on me rapporte est vrai, se meurt pour lui d'un amour effréné. Car depuis le jour où elle a lu l'ébauche de la *Maîtresse de Dindyme*, depuis ce jour, la pauvrete sent un feu la ronger au plus profond de sa moelle. Je te pardonne, jeune fille plus savante qu'une muse de Sappho : elle est charmante en effet la *Grande Mère* ébauchée par Cécilius » (trad. de l'auteur).

⁶⁹ Voir STEVENSON (2005), p. 34.

⁷⁰ Voir *carm.* 55, 58 b.

⁷¹ Voir *carm.* 38. Macrobe (6,5,13) attribue à Q. Cornificius la composition d'un épyllion intitulé *Glaucus*.

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Reconciling Cicero's Anti-Epicureanism in *De Amicitia* with his Friendship with Atticus

The examination of Cicero's philosophical treatise, *De Amicitia*, written in 44 B.C.,¹ reveals a contradiction: although it is dedicated to Atticus, who appears to have been a man affiliated with the Epicurean school, Cicero seems to devote a considerable part of the dialogue criticising anything related to Epicureanism, even if it is irrelevant to the discussion of *amicitia*. Although there has not been an extensive discussion to explain this problematic aspect of the treatise, there have been some notable observations. Powell argues that Atticus would not have been insulted by Cicero's views in *De Amicitia*, because Cicero refrains from naming the Epicureans in his criticism of their philosophical views. He, nonetheless, admits that anyone who had studied Epicureanism would have been aware that the target of Cicero's criticism in *De Amicitia* was Epicurus and his philosophy.² Another explanation is provided by Griffin who notes that Atticus might not have been a firm believer of Epicureanism.³ She attempts to explain this paradox also by pointing out that Atticus was not Cicero's only Epicurean friend and that Cicero made similar negative remarks about Epicurus in his letters to his other Epicurean friends.⁴ Nevertheless, even if her hypothesis is correct, it begs the question whether or not Atticus would have appreciated a work dedicated to him in which the philosophical sect with which he was formally affiliated was heavily criticised and Epicureans were portrayed as incapable of forming real *amicitiae*. In contrast, Gucker briefly mentions Cicero's decision to dedicate a treatise on *amicitia* to an Epicurean friend, but admits that he cannot provide an explanation for it.⁵ Lastly, in the paper of Citroni Marchetti entitled *Words and Silence: Atticus as the Dedicatee*

¹ As ZETZEL (1972), p. 177-178 points out, the *terminus post quem* of *De Amicitia* is March 44, since it is absent from the list of works mentioned in the preface to Book 2 of *De Divinatione*. Similarly, the *terminus ante quem* is November 44 based on Cicero's remark found in *De Officiis* (2.31) that he has completed the composition of *De Amicitia*.

² POWELL (1990), p. 20. He does, however, note that Atticus' Epicureanism does not seem to have affected his friendship with Cicero.

³ GRIFFIN (1997), p. 107.

⁴ GRIFFIN (1997), p. 106-108.

⁵ GLUCKER (1988), p. 69.

of *De Amicitia*, despite the *communis opinio* of Atticus as a professed Epicurean and Cicero's opposition to the school in his work, the fact that this philosophical treatise was dedicated to him is notably absent.⁶

Cicero's polemic against Epicurus is consistent in his works⁷ with some of his statements about Epicureanism giving the impression that he disagreed with Epicurean philosophy in its entirety.⁸ While his attitude towards the Epicurean school is suspect considering the number of his Epicurean friends,⁹ including Atticus, who appears to have been his most intimate friend,¹⁰ his dedication of *De Amicitia* to him is even more problematic. In *De Amicitia*, Cicero argues that between friends there should be *omnium diuinarum humanarumque rerum ... consensio* (*Amic.* 20). Since Atticus' Epicurean beliefs would have prevented them from forming a real *amicitia*, Cicero would have been expected to choose another friend with philosophical and political views closer to his own, such as Brutus,¹¹ as the dedicatee of such an important treatise on *amicitia*. As a result, the references to Atticus' Epicureanism in Cicero's letters and philosophical works need to be examined as well as whether Cicero's account of *amicitia* in *De Amicitia* represented his actual views on interpersonal relationships. The purpose of this paper is to contrast Cicero's possible anti-Epicureanism in *De Amicitia* with passages from some of his other treatises, including *De Finibus*, in which his opposition to Epicurus is clearer, and to show why Cicero's expressed views of Epicureanism in *De Amicitia* would not have been perceived by Atticus as paradoxical or insulting.

⁶ CITRONI MARCHETTI (2009).

⁷ HANCHEY (2013), p. 119.

⁸ MASLOWSKI (1974) shows that Cicero's anti-Epicureanism starts as a strong disagreement with certain aspects of the Epicurean philosophy and evolves into a polemic against the school and its adherents. On Cicero's opposition to Epicurus, see also D'ANNA (1965); STOKES (1995); LEONHARDT (1999); LÉVY (2001); REINHARDT (2005); HANCHEY (2013); WALTER (2014); MASO (2015); MACGILLIVRAY (2015).

⁹ BOURNE (1977), p. 418.

¹⁰ RAUH (1986), p. 7; GLUCKER (1988), p. 68; ROSKAM (2007), p. 49; WILLIAMS (2012), p. 231; WALTER (2014), p. 253. More importantly, Cicero himself also makes such a claim in *Att.* 16.16A.5. Nevertheless, even if Cicero did in fact regard Atticus his most intimate friend, it does not necessarily follow that Atticus also considered Cicero his closest friend. For example, WELCH (1996), p. 464 asserts that Brutus was a more intimate friend of Atticus than Cicero.

¹¹ As SEDLEY (1997), p. 41-42 points out, not only were Cicero and Brutus adherents of the Academy, but Brutus had also been the dedicatee of four of Cicero's philosophical works, viz. *Paradoxa Stoicorum*, *De Finibus*, *Tusculanae Disputationes*, and *De Natura Deorum*.

1. *Atticus' Epicureanism*

Despite the common reference to Atticus as an Epicurean in scholarship,¹² the primary sources that are available and can support this notion are limited. First, though giving a very detailed account of Atticus' life in his biography,¹³ Nepos does not associate Atticus with the Epicurean school.¹⁴ Similarly, in the entire extant correspondence, Cicero never explicitly refers to Atticus as an Epicurean and does not appear to feel the need to explain his treatment of Epicureans.¹⁵

¹² There are two strongly opposed views expressed in scholarship on Atticus' Epicureanism. On the one hand, BOISSIER (1897), p. 138 argues that Atticus had essentially no genuine interest in Epicureanism. His argument, however, lacks the necessary evidence to make a compelling case. Similarly, the possibility of Atticus having being a follower of Epicurus is briefly explored by SHACKLETON BAILEY (1965), p. 8, n. 5, who rejects the notion of Atticus as a true Epicurean and argues that he decided to profess his devotion to the Epicurean school to a certain extent because he wanted "to be in the fashion and partly because as a devotee of things Hellenic he had to have a philosophy and Epicureanism suited him better than any other". On the other hand, CARCOPINO (1951), while expressing the widely accepted view of Atticus as an Epicurean, makes several assertions. Most notably, he states (p. 437) that "there is no doubt that from the first moment of contact in Rome with the Epicurean doctrine, he had been won by the teachings of Epicurus" and that he was "intoxicated" by Epicurus. The view of Atticus as an Epicurean is also shared by FARRER (1963), p. 2; BOURNE (1977), p. 418, 424, 427; SCHMIDT (1978), p. 124; GLUCKER (1988), p. 69; FUHRMANN (1992), p. 151; GRIFFIN (1997), p. 105; ROSKAM (2007), p. 49; ARMSTRONG (2011), p. 125, n. 84; WILCOX (2012), p. 17; HANCHEY (2013), p. 120, n. 4; WALTER (2014), p. 253. In contrast, WELCH (1996), p. 451 displays more caution by noting that "Atticus himself professed to be a member" of Epicurus' sect as does MACGILLIVRAY (2015), p. 13 by referring to Atticus as "likely ... an Epicurean adherent". Similarly, LESLIE (1950), p. vii examines the possibility of Atticus having been insincere about his professed Epicureanism. He, nonetheless, concludes that Atticus was an Epicurean (p. 73). HORSFALL (1989), p. 97-98 provides a brief analysis of Atticus' association with Epicureanism and notes that, despite his "allegiance" with the Epicurean school, he was not "passionately committed" to Epicurean philosophy. He argues that Atticus' life does not necessarily indicate that he was a 'committed' Epicurean and that the way that he chose to die, the value that he attached to friendship, as well as his life-style were also in accordance with Stoicism. For a further discussion of Atticus' Epicureanism, see also CASTNER (1988), p. 58-60.

¹³ CITRONI MARCHETTI (2009), p. 98 refers to both Nepos' biography of Atticus and Cicero's *De Amicitia* as "ideological documents".

¹⁴ GRIFFIN (1986), p. 76 attributes the lack of references to Atticus' Epicureanism to Nepos' own possible opposition to the school. She also suggests an effort from Nepos to avoid using any Epicurean language in his biography of Atticus by resorting to terms such as *constantia*, which was a virtue well-known to be chiefly advocated by the Stoics.

¹⁵ GRIFFIN (1997), p. 107 argues strongly against the notion of Cicero or his fellow Romans not considering Atticus a follower of the Epicurean school and rejects it as "implausible". She bases her argument on "Cicero's frequent references in private and in public to Atticus' Epicureanism". However, she only provides one example on p. 107, n. 82 of a letter to Atticus, in which, nevertheless, Cicero does not clearly refer to Atticus

In fact, on 15 August 45 he simply mentions that he is writing *Tusculanae Disputationes* with references against Epicureans (*Att.* 13.38.1), but does not try to justify his action or intentions.¹⁶

Atticus' Epicureanism is, nonetheless, evidently clear in two of Cicero's philosophical works. In *De Legibus* (1.54) Atticus identifies as an Epicurean by referring to himself as a member of the Epicurean garden: *Antiocho ... quocum uixi, et qui me ex nostris paene conuellit hortulis*.¹⁷ While there are passages in *De Finibus* where it is implied that Atticus' philosophical views were in line with Epicurus' (*Fin.* 1.16, 5.96), his adherence to the Epicurean school is also explicitly stated in his remark *at ego, quem uos ut deditum Epicuro insectari soletis* (*Fin.* 5.3). Nevertheless, it does not necessarily follow that the character of Atticus was based entirely on Atticus and his beliefs. For example, Hendrickson argues that in *Brutus* Cicero attaches his own convictions to Brutus, which results in such a misrepresentation of Brutus that he "must have found his taste and judgement violated consistently".¹⁸ More importantly, the question whether or not characters in his dialogues reflect each individual's actual views is also addressed by Cicero himself in a letter to Atticus. On 29 June 45, while discussing with him the composition of *Academica*, Cicero states that *sane in personas non cadebant; erant enim λογικώτερα quam ut illi de eis somniasse umquam uiderentur* (*Att.* 13.19.5). It would follow that this could be interpreted as evidence of how loosely Cicero's characters were based on the persons that they represented. However, while he makes such a remark about Catulus, Lucullus, and Hortensius, he holds a distinctively different view about Varro. He expresses his enthusiasm for the inclusion of Varro as a character after Atticus' suggestion and notes that *aptius esse nihil potuit ad id philosophiae genus* (*Att.* 13.19.5). Brunt makes a similar observation about Quintus as a character in *De Diuinatione* by arguing that his contemporaries would have interpreted the arguments of Quintus, the interlocutor, as the personal views of Quintus.¹⁹ Therefore, based on the evidence from Cicero's treatises, it is impossible to state with

as an Epicurean. Instead, the passage that she seems to refer to reads: *non ut Saufeius et uestri* (*Att.* 4.6.1). SHACKLETON BAILEY (1999), p. 321 translates *uestri* as "your co-sectaries". While his translation does seem to be correct in the context, it is not the only possible translation. Since Cicero does not explicitly refer to Atticus as an Epicurean and Griffin does not provide any other examples from Cicero's correspondence that show that Atticus was considered an Epicurean, her argument relies entirely on Atticus as an Epicurean character in Cicero's works.

¹⁶ GRIFFIN (1997), p. 108 observes that criticism of Epicurus as a means of teasing a friend can also be found in several letters to other Epicurean correspondents of Cicero, such as Fabius Gallus (*Fam.* 7.26.1), Cassius Longinus (*Fam.* 15.16), and Papirius Paetus (*Fam.* 9.26).

¹⁷ References to Atticus as an Epicurean can also be found in *Leg.* 1.21, 3.1.

¹⁸ HENDRICKSON (1926), p. 252-253.

¹⁹ BRUNT (1989), p. 193.

absolute certainty whether or not Atticus, the historical person, shared the views of Epicureanism of Atticus, the character of *De Finibus* and *De Legibus*.

However, there is one letter from Cicero's entire correspondence which, *prima facie*, gives a clear answer to the question of Atticus' Epicureanism and therefore needs to be examined. In his letter to Memmius, apart from depicting the Epicurean school negatively, Cicero addresses Atticus' philosophical beliefs. When he asks Memmius to rethink his plans about building a house in the area of the ruins of Epicurus' house, he also adds that Atticus' request stems from his love for Patro and that Atticus *non quo sit ex istis* (*Fam.* 13.1.5). By separating Atticus from other Epicureans, Cicero seems to remove any doubt that Atticus was either a true follower of Epicurus or at least a professed Epicurean. Nevertheless, Cicero's statement about Atticus' views of Epicureanism should not be considered conclusive evidence against the possibility of Atticus having been an Epicurean.²⁰ Considering Memmius' desire to demolish what was left of Epicurus' house, it can be inferred that Memmius did not have any sympathy for Epicureanism. Also Cicero's letter suggests even contempt from Memmius against the Epicurean school.²¹ It follows that Cicero would have wanted to convince Memmius that Atticus was not an Epicurean, in order to be able to ask Memmius to maintain Epicurus' house for the sake of a friend and not because of its importance as the house of the founder of Epicureanism. Cicero's need to emphasise that Atticus was not a follower of Epicurus could suggest that even during Cicero's time, or at least in 51, when the letter was written, it was unclear to their contemporaries whether or not Atticus was an Epicurean, but also that some of his fellow citizens assumed that he was. Therefore, even though Cicero's statement indicates that Atticus was not formally affiliated with the Epicurean school in 51, it does not necessarily prove that Epicureanism did not appeal to Atticus or that he did not become affiliated with it after this letter was written.

2. *Epicureanism and politics*

Cicero's attitude towards Epicureanism in his correspondence with Atticus is in line with his professed views in his philosophical works. In November 50, he expresses a negative opinion on the behaviour of two of their Epicurean friends (*Att.* 7.2.4), Lucius Saufeius and Patro, who was the head of the Epicurean school,²² for following the Epicurean notion of self-interest determining their choices and avoidances (*Ep. Men.* 128-29; *Fin.* 1.30-33, 42). His remarks in a letter from April 46 on Atticus' Epicurean friend Balbus also give the impression

²⁰ CASTNER (1988), p. 59 also argues against the use of this letter as evidence of Atticus not having been an Epicurean.

²¹ SEDLEY (2009), p. 44-45.

²² CLAY (2009), p. 28.

of a strong disapproval of the school. After commenting on the war in Africa, he uses a sarcastic tone (*Att.* 12.2.2) while referring to Balbus (τί γάρ αὐτῷ μέλει;), suggesting that the political unrest of Caesar's dictatorship was not affecting him. He then points out that, as an Epicurean who lives for pleasure and is not interested in virtues, Balbus would be content with simply βεβίωται (*Att.* 12.2.2). Balbus' alignment with Caesar and his lack of concern for the Roman people's oppression by Caesar seems to be implicitly compared with Cicero's own patriotism and his inability to play a more important role in Roman politics.

In a letter from December 61 Cicero displays a radically different attitude towards Atticus' affiliation with the Epicurean school. This letter is interesting for the intensity of the affection that he displays towards Atticus, but especially for the views that he expresses on Atticus' decision against being involved in politics.²³ He notes:²⁴

neque ego inter me atque te quicquam interesse umquam duxi praeter uoluntatem institutae uitae, quod me ambitio quaedam ad honorum studium, te autem alia minime reprehendenda ratio ad honestum otium duxit (*Att.* 1.17.5).

Although Epicurus and his maxim, λάθε βιώσας (Plut., *De lat. uiu.* 1128c), are not mentioned explicitly, it can be inferred that Cicero was addressing Atticus' abstention from politics because of his Epicurean convictions. Based on Cicero's claim, it would appear that, despite his personal feelings about taking part in politics (*Rep.* 1.10), he believed that Atticus' decision to avoid public life was an acceptable choice for any Roman who had different priorities in life. In a letter from 11 May 44 a seemingly different view of Epicurean abstention from politics seems to emerge. Cicero uses strong language in his reply to Atticus' letter by asking Atticus *Epicuri mentionem facis et audes dicere μὴ πολιτεύεσθαι?* (*Att.* 14.20.5). Cicero's negative reaction to Atticus' suggestion to follow the example of other Epicureans who used their philosophical beliefs as an excuse to avoid the responsibilities and dangers of public life at first glance gives the impression that Cicero strongly disapproved of abstention from politics. Nevertheless, it should be borne in mind that Cicero's position in 49 was notably different from that of Atticus and their Epicurean friends. According to his claims, he managed to save the Republic twice, first during his consulship

²³ CITRONI MARCHETTI (2009), p. 96 rightly notes that in the correspondence Atticus does not appear to be "apolitical" and even gives valuable political advice to Cicero which indicates a "political shrewdness". Similarly, SHACKLETON BAILEY (1965), p. 5 notes that although Atticus was never properly involved in politics, he had a "flair for backstairs politics".

²⁴ This letter as well as Cicero's thoughts on Atticus' Epicureanism are also discussed by LESLIE (1950), p. 20. However, his assertion (p. 67) that "Cicero certainly did not believe that Atticus was an Epicurean" is unconvincing and does not seem to be warranted based on the evidence that he presents in his discussion.

with the execution of the Catilinarian conspirators and again in 58 by going to exile instead of having his supporters fight against Clodius' forces and thus preventing a bloodbath (*Pis.* 78, *Sest.* 49). Moreover, not only did he not receive the praise that he expected for his actions and decisions as a consul from Pompey (*Fam.* 5.7.2), but they were even used against him by Clodius who managed to secure his exile for executing Romans without a trial.²⁵ It follows that Cicero would have found such a suggestion insulting considering the path that he had chosen in life as opposed to other Romans, the dangers that he had faced over the years, and the ingratitude that he experienced from his fellow politicians.

The possibility that Cicero's reaction to Atticus was the result of his perception of Atticus' advice as a personal insult and that it did not represent his general view of abstention from politics is reinforced by his remarks to some of his other correspondents. As Griffin points out, while Cicero advises his Epicurean non-political friends "to free themselves from worry and enjoy an Epicurean existence", he displays a different attitude towards young men already engaged on a public career, such as Trebatius or Cassius. He scolds these men "for their Epicureanism and tries to wean them off it".²⁶ His letter exchange with Cassius in 45, after Cassius became an Epicurean, shows a strong opposition to Epicurean philosophy. Cicero questions Epicurus' understanding of εἰδωλα (*Fam.* 15.16.1), subtly refers to Epicurus' lack of originality considering Democritus' notion of εἰδωλα (*Fam.* 15.16.2), and even misrepresents Epicurean philosophy by telling Cassius seemingly in jest that *cum uirtuti nuntium remisisti delenitus illecebris uoluptatis* (*Fam.* 15.16.3). Cassius replies by reminding Cicero of the significance that Epicurus places in virtues in the pursuit of ἀταρξία. He defends the Epicurean school also by quoting Epicurus who argues that οὐκ ἔστιν ἡδέως ἀνευ τοῦ καλῶς καὶ δικαίως ζῆν (*Fam.* 15.16.3).

A strong conviction that Epicurean philosophy is incompatible with politics can be observed even more clearly in a letter to Trebatius from February 53 (*Fam.* 15.19). Cicero contrasts the self-centredness that an Epicurean should display with the concern for the common good for which a citizen with an active public life was expected to strive. He argues that a man in politics cannot have his own pleasure as his only yardstick (*Ep. Men.* 128-29; *Fin.* 1.30-33, 42) because it would be impossible to serve his people if he shared Epicurus' beliefs that the gods are tranquil beings who are not concerned with human affairs (*K.D.* 1; *Lucr.* 5.146-152, 6.68-74). He also points out that since Epicurus advocates abstention from public life (*Sent. Vat.* 58; *D. L.* 10.119; *Plut., De lat. uiu.* 1128c), an Epicurean could at any point abandon his public office and the people whom he was appointed to help and protect. As a result, his

²⁵ On the events leading to Cicero's exile from Rome, see CIACERI (1941), p. 59-70; SEAGER (1979), p. 103-113; MITCHELL (1991), p. 127-143.

²⁶ GRIFFIN (1997), p. 108.

stance towards his Epicurean friends, at first sight, suggests that he did not approve of Epicurean philosophy in politics,²⁷ but saw no harm in one being an Epicurean in his private life, as the application of such a set of beliefs in one's private life could not affect the Republic.

3. *Similarities between Cicero's and Epicurus' philosophical views*

Although Cicero's well-attested opposition to Epicurean philosophy has been discussed extensively in scholarship, the similarities between his and Epicurus' notions of *φιλία* have received considerably less attention. A comparison between *De Amicitia* and Epicurus' teachings reveals that their views did not differ as much as Cicero's statements seem to suggest. First and foremost, Cicero's professed conviction about the significance of *φιλία* is evidently similar to Epicurus': they both maintain that *φιλία* is the greatest good in one's life (*Amic.* 17, 20, 21, 23, 47, 49; *K.D.* 27).²⁸ They also argue that *φιλία* cannot be established without virtues (*Amic.* 104; *D. L.* 10.138). Of all the virtues, loyalty seems to be the quality with which they are most concerned. In *Amic.* 25 Cicero notes that a man is to be praised should he defend his *φιλία* with *fides*, *constantia*, and *iustitia*. Πίστις between friends is also one of the most prominent features in Epicurus' account of *φιλία* (*Sent. Vat.* 57). They also appear to agree on the importance of *φιλία* for the future. Cicero asserts that the superiority of *φιλία* lies on that it generates positive expectations for the future (*Amic.* 23). This notion is mainly advocated by Epicurus whose account of pleasure is not limited to the present, as he recognises the importance of both past and future pleasures. According to Epicurus, the confidence that a man possesses that his friends will help him in time of need is much greater in value than the actual help that he receives (*Sent. Vat.* 34).

In addition to the similarities between their accounts of *φιλία* in terms of the future, the virtues, and the value of *φιλία* in general, they seem to agree on one's feelings for a person after that person's death. Cicero's views of death of a friend are indicative of his intentions with *De Amicitia* and his refusal to admit

²⁷ The involvement in politics is considered by Epicureans a source of unnecessary worries (*Sent. Vat.* 58; *D. L.* 10.119), but it is not strictly forbidden by Epicurus who suggests that one can engage in public life in an extreme time of need (*Lucr.* 1.41-43; *SEN., Ot. sap.* 3.2) or as long as a life away from politics would cause more *ταραχαί* (*Plut., De tranq. anim.* 465-466A). This is most likely the Epicurean doctrine with which Cicero disagreed the most considering his serious involvement in politics even at the risk of his own life, as well as his conviction that *nos longe prospicere oportet futuros casus rei publicae* (*Amic.* 40). It follows that because of this principle, Cicero did not (*De Or.* 3.63-64, *Rep.* 1.1) and could not support Epicureanism, even if he did agree with certain other Epicurean principles.

²⁸ On the role that *φιλία* plays in Epicurean philosophy, see FESTUGIÈRE (1955), p. 27-50.

any merit in Epicurean philosophy. Epicurus notes that the friends of a deceased person will not stop thinking of them, though they should refrain from mourning them (*Sent. Vat.* 66, *K.D.* 20). Laelius' attitude in *De Amicitia* is in accordance with this Epicurean notion, though not entirely, since he is deeply affected by the loss of friend (*Amic.* 8-10). Laelius argues that one's relationship with a friend not only does not cease to exist after the friend's death, but their memories can also strengthen their *φιλία* (*Amic.* 104). Epicurus does not make such a claim, but his reaction to his friends' death is similar to Laelius' expressed views. The value of memories created with friends was stressed by Epicurus who showed that they can function as a means of enduring physical pain, since, prior to his death, despite the severity of his condition, he was still happy reminiscing his past conversations with his student Idomeneus (*D. L.* 10.22). Nevertheless, Cicero does not suggest or even hint at an agreement with Epicurean philosophy regarding the memories of a friend.

The fact that Cicero provides a discussion of *amicitia* with notions that can also be found in the works of Plato, Epicurus, and Aristotle without specifically naming any one of them, creates an inevitable confusion over not only the philosophical schools that he intended to praise, but also the target of his attacks.²⁹ It appears that his strong disagreements with Epicureanism throughout the years in his public speeches, letters, and philosophical treatises has led scholars to believe that a significant number of his negative remarks in *De Amicitia* are directed at Epicurus and his followers.

4. *Anti-Epicureanism in De Amicitia*

One of the most important points that Cicero raises in his discussion of *amicitia* is that it should not be the result of a need or a deficiency in something but a relationship based on good character (*Amic.* 27, 30). Cicero's conviction is evidently the polar opposite of the Epicurean type of *φιλία* that springs from utility. In fact, according to Epicurus, when a relationship between certain individuals does not involve some form of benefit, it cannot be considered a *φιλία* (*Sent. Vat.* 39). Although Cicero's remark on *amicitia* being the result of an *inopia* (*Amic.* 29), an *indigentia* (*Amic.* 29), or an *imbecillitas* (*Amic.* 26), at first may appear to refer to the Epicurean account of *φιλία*, the language that he uses suggests that his argument is chiefly against Plato's view of the origin of *φιλία* and *ἔρως*. In Plato's dialogues *ἔρως*, *φιλία*, and *ἐπιθυμία* exist because of an *ἀνάγκη* that one has of something one does not have (*Symp.* 200a-e). Similarly, in the *Laws*, in his analysis of the types of *φιλία*, the Athenaeus speaker asserts that τὸ δεόμενον τοῦ πεπλουτηκότος (*Leg.* 837a) can also be called a

²⁹ On Theophrastus' possible influence on Cicero in the composition of *De Amicitia*, see HUTTER (1978), p. 133, n. 3; SORABJI (1988), p. 151-153; HYATTE (1994), p. 26; RICHARDSON-HAY (2006), p. 172; GUNDERSON (2009), p. 246; WEISS (2014), p. 164.

friend. More importantly, ἔρως is referred to as the son of Πόρου καὶ Πενίας (*Symp.* 203c),³⁰ thus suggesting a humble beginning with which Cicero strongly disagreed considering not only his remark on *imbecillitas* (*Amic.* 26), but also his emphasis on the fact that the word *amicitia* derives from *amor* (*Amic.* 26).

In *Amic.* 13 Cicero argues against the possibility of the soul perishing when one dies. Considering that the Epicureans were not concerned over death (*Ep. Men.* 124; *Fin.* 1.62; *Lucr.* 3.830), because they believed that the soul is made of atoms and thus dissolves after one's death (*Ep. Hdt.* 63-67), Cicero's statement gives the impression that he is criticising Epicurus. Nevertheless, the fact that this view had previously been expressed by Democritus, and more importantly, that Cicero was aware of Democritus' philosophy and its influence on Epicurus (*Fin.* 1.17-18, 20-21) allows inferring that Cicero's intention was to express his disagreement with the notion of the mortality of the soul and not to discredit the Epicureans. This is also reinforced by the weakness of his argument against disregarding one after one's death. He does not attempt to refute Epicurus' point on atoms, but simply stresses the need of embracing the customs of the forefathers who *mortuis tam religiosa iura tribuerunt* (*Amic.* 13). Moreover, by stating that he does not agree with *eis qui haec nuper disserere coeperunt* (*Amic.* 13), his remark cannot refer to Epicurus himself, but rather to later Epicureans, either Laelius' contemporaries from the second century B.C., or Cicero's own contemporaries. The men who held such a view were not necessarily only the Epicureans, but also people from the general public who shared this originally Democritean view, having been influenced by some of their fellow citizens who were followers of Epicurus. Therefore, the emphasis seems to be placed on the respect that one should pay to a deceased friend and not on any fallacy in Epicurean philosophy.

The likelihood of several passages from *De Amicitia* being references not to Epicurus' views of φιλία but to the behaviour of the average Roman has also been pointed out by Powell. He argues that, although *Amic.* 79 and 82 are considered by scholars as references to Epicureanism, Cicero seems to be targeting 'ordinary people' who are solely interested in their personal gain in their φιλικία.³¹ In addition to the passages mentioned by Powell, in which it is evident that Cicero is referring to the majority of his fellow citizens (*plerique*, *Amic.* 79, 82), his negative perception of the masses can be observed in *Amic.* 34 (*in plerisque*) as well as in *Amic.* 64 (*plerisque*). Cicero seems to be aware that developing the type of *amicitia* that he describes in *De Amicitia* was not only difficult, but

³⁰ See HYLAND (1968) for an analysis of ἔρως and φιλία as used in the Platonic dialogues. I follow VERSENYI (1975), p. 187-188 who rejects the notion of a clear distinction between ἔρως and φιλία in Plato's works and observes an overlap between them.

³¹ POWELL (1990), p. 113. He does, however, argue (p. 95) that in *Amic.* 32 Cicero's censure of Epicureanism is evident, considering his comparison of people, who live based on the Epicurean views of pleasure, with farm animals (*pecudum*).

also uncommon (*Amic.* 64), considering the scarcity of morally good men (*Amic.* 62, 79). Consequently, it could be argued that one of the main aims of his treatise was to expose a problem within Roman society rather than attack Epicurean philosophy alone, since the target of his attack seems to be most of his fellow citizens who were either consciously following Epicurean philosophy or even unaware of the Epicurean doctrines of *φιλία*.

Nevertheless, there are certain passages that appear to be more ambiguous cases of reference to Epicurean philosophy. According to Glad, in *Amic.* 45-47 Cicero suggests that the *φιλία* of benefit of the masses is the same as Epicurus' *φιλία* of usefulness. He also argues that in *Amic.* 51-52 Cicero criticises not only the Epicureans, but also the Cyrenaics for promoting a *φιλία* that is the result of a need.³² A closer examination of the language that Cicero uses and of the notions that he seems to refer to can help determine whether or not Cicero's statements were directed at Epicurus. In *Amic.* 45 Cicero begins by clarifying that he is referring to the views of Greek philosophers and not of ordinary people (*sapientes habitos in Graecia*). He notes that these men were against forming and maintaining intimate *φιλίαι* because they were only interested in their personal peace of mind (*securitas*). While the use of *securitas* does seem to be used with the intention of informing his audience that he is expressing an opposition to certain Epicurean maxims, Epicurus did not promote a superficial type of *φιλία*. On the contrary, not only is a follower of Epicurus expected to aid a friend who is facing a misfortune (*Sen., Ep.* 9.8), but he is also advised to take risks in his efforts to assist him (*Sent. Vat.* 28). Furthermore, he would want to form such an intimate *φιλία* (*Sent. Vat.* 19, 75) that he would feel confident (*Sent. Vat.* 34) that his friend would not abandon him (D. L. 10.120) in time of need. Therefore, either Cicero is intentionally misrepresenting Epicureanism in his work, despite showing commendable knowledge of Epicurean philosophy in Books 1 and 2 of *De Finibus*, or, more likely, refers solely to the Cyrenaics, whose only concern was the pleasure of the moment (D. L. 2.87-88, 2.66).

In the following sections, however, he does seem to examine the Epicurean *φιλία*. After noting that he is discussing the views of another philosophical school (*Amic.* 46-47 *alios autem dicere aiunt ... o praeclaram sapientiam!*), he mentions that women and poor people choose this type of *φιλία*. His remark appears to be a reference to the fact that, unlike other Greek philosophical schools, Epicureanism also admitted the less fortunate, such as women and slaves. The problem that he raises about Epicurean *φιλία* is that, because Epicurus does not recognise intrinsic value in virtues, his true followers are abandoning virtue and thus not developing real *φιλίαι*. It needs to be stressed that his observation about this fallacy in Epicurean philosophy is also applicable to the type of *amicitia* that most of his contemporaries tended to develop. Thus, this message could be a reminder to his reader that, if he wants to have a relationship that is an actual *amicitia* and

³² GLAD (1996), p. 54, n. 147.

not simply an association defined by its mutually beneficial nature, he should not act as a proper Epicurean would, whether he is a follower of Epicurus or a person without a philosophical affiliation.

Similarly, in *Amic.* 51-52 he discusses an inferior type of *amicitia*, i.e. *amicitia* that is based on usefulness. Since the sole purpose of the Epicurean *φιλία* is benefit, a reader of *De Amicitia* is given the impression that Cicero uses the word *utilitas* (*Amic.* 51) to imply that his argument is against Epicurus' account of *φιλία*. Cicero begins by asserting that it is wrong to assume that utility can be the basis of an *amicitia* and by stressing that *amicitia* should be sought for the love that it can provide between persons and not for any material gain. He then argues that one should not listen to the words of men of *deliciis* because they do not understand the meaning of *amicitia* (*Amic.* 52): *non ergo erunt homines deliciis diffuentes audiendi, si quando, quam nec usu nec ratione habent cognitam, disputabunt*. However, the word that Cicero uses in his works in reference to Epicureanism is *uoluptas* and not *delicia*.³³ This is clarified in *De Finibus*, in which, before chastising Epicurus for his use of *ἡδονή* in his works (*Fin.* 2.14-16, 19-20, 26, 28, 29-31), he claims that *uoluptas* is an ideal translation of *ἡδονή* (*Fin.* 2.13). Interestingly, while *uoluptas* is only used five times in *De Amicitia*, in *De Finibus* it can be found 405 times. Therefore, the language that Cicero uses does not betray a clear intention to inform his audience that Epicurus was his direct target.

5. Clearer cases of anti-Epicureanism

An examination of some of Cicero's other philosophical works can shed light on his decision to use such vague language in *De Amicitia*.³⁴ A clear case of a series of strong arguments against Epicurean philosophy can be found in *De Finibus*. In Books 1 and 2 Cicero not only refers to Epicurus and his followers by name, but he explains exactly with which aspects of the Epicurean school he disagrees.³⁵ By exploring the nuances of Epicurus' teachings and by differentiating Epicurean principles from Democritean (*Fin.* 1.17-18, 1.20-21) and Cyrenaic principles (*Fin.* 1.23, 1.26, 2.144), he avoids creating any confusion over

³³ GLAD (1996), p. 54, n. 147, nevertheless, regards this passage as another reference to both Epicureans and the Cyrenaics.

³⁴ According to SCHMIDT (1978), p. 125, despite the fact that Cicero does not name the Epicureans in the prefaces of his treatises, his opposition to them is clear.

³⁵ His disagreements with Epicureanism can be found in *Fin.* 1.15, 17, 18-23, 25 and are summarised by Triarius in *Fin.* 1.26. Book 2 of *De Finibus* is the most important source of Cicero's opposition to Epicurean philosophy. Cicero reveals that he is irritated by Epicurus (*Fin.* 2.12) and accuses him of lacking education (*Fin.* 2.30). He claims that, as a result, his theories lack scientific precision (*Fin.* 2.18). Apart from rejecting Epicurus' division of desires (*Fin.* 2.26-28), he argues that the Epicurean philosophy is inconsistent (*Fin.* 2.32, 35, 99, 114).

Epicurean philosophy. In *De Oratore*, although he does not refer to Epicureans by name, he does use language that removes any doubt from the reader's mind that he is arguing against Epicureanism. In his discussion of the importance of every Roman citizen either participating in politics or offering his counsel in public life, Cicero begins by using the word *uoluptas* (*De Or.* 3.63). Since it can also refer to the pleasures that the average Roman would seek without being an Epicurean, Cicero implicitly clarifies that he is referring to the Epicurean school, by adding *ea philosophia*. Considering that the Cyrenaics were another sect that regarded pleasure as the end of life (D. L. 2.87-88, 2.66), Cicero then uses the word *hortulus* to show that he is referring to the Epicurean garden (*De Or.* 3.63).³⁶ The lack of ambiguity in his language enables the reader to be certain that it is the Epicurean maxim of *λάθῃ βιωσας* (Plut., *De lat. uiu.* 1128c) that he argues against in *De Oratore*.

A similar approach can be observed in *De Republica*. Although there is only a single reference to Epicureans by name (*Rep.* 6.3),³⁷ the topics that Cicero discusses in certain parts of the treatise show a clear disagreement with Epicurean philosophy. In his criticism of Epicureanism in *De Republica*, Cicero does not seem to focus on Epicurus' view of abstention from politics, but rather on the school's conviction (Sen., *De otio* 3.2) that one should only be involved in politics when it is absolutely necessary or in case of an emergency (*Rep.* 1.1). He begins by pointing out that Marcus Cato suffered considerably to acquire public office in order to be able to protect his fellow citizens instead of opting for a life of tranquility and pleasure. The combination of a discussion of an Epicurean notion with the use of the words *tranquillitas* and *uoluptas* indicates that Cicero is targeting the Epicureans specifically. Later on, he uses himself as example to illustrate his point about the need of taking the necessary steps in politics to be in a position to help his country in an emergency. He argues that had he not done everything in his power from a young age to become a consul by 63, he would have been unable to protect the Republic from Catiline and his co-conspirators (*Rep.* 1.10). It is important to stress that he uses the same language (*eum tempus et necessitas coegerit*) as in *Rep.* 1.1 (*cogeret eum necessitas nulla*), thus implicitly suggesting that the target of his argument is, once again, Epicurus and the followers who adhere to his teachings. An even clearer reference to Epicurean philosophy without explicitly mentioning Epicurus by name can be found in *Rep.* 3.26:

negant enim sapientem idcirco uirum bonum esse, quod eum sua sponte ac per se bonitas et iustitia delectet, sed quod uacua metu, cura, sollicitudine, periculo

³⁶ HANCHEY (2013), p. 121 makes a similar observation about a passage from *De Legibus* (1.39). He argues that Cicero's use of *hortulus* and *uoluptas* is to ensure that the reader will identify Epicurus and his followers as the group of people with whose public and private conduct he disagreed.

³⁷ WALTER (2014), p. 260.

uita bonorum uirorum sit, contra autem improbis semper aliqui scrupus in animis haereat, semper eis ante oculos iudicia et supplicia uersentur; nullum autem emolumentum esse, nullum iniustitia partum praemium tantum, semper ut timeas, semper ut adesse, semper ut impendere aliquam poenam putes ...

Cicero discusses Epicurus' view of justice seemingly in an effort to criticise him for his conviction that it has only instrumental value (*K.D.* 32-33). His disagreement with Epicurus lies on Epicurus' belief that one should be just towards others simply because of the fear that arises after committing a crime (*K.D.* 34). According to Epicurus, inflicting an injustice on anyone is a source of unnecessary worries, as one can never be certain that one can escape detection until one's death (*K.D.* 35). In contrast, being just enables one to live a life free from *ταρραχή* created by fear of anyone discovering one's unjust act (*K.D.* 17, *Sent. Vat.* 70).³⁸

Considering the language that Cicero uses as well the topics that he discusses in *De Finibus*, *De Oratore*, and *De Republica* as opposed to *De Amicitia*, it appears that in *De Amicitia* he was not concerned with discrediting the Epicureans, but rather with the type of *amicitia* that the average Roman was interested in developing. By directing his criticism towards a large group of people that also included some, though not necessarily all, Epicureans, Cicero was avoiding offending both Atticus and their common Epicurean friends. Therefore, in *De Amicitia* he was not giving the impression to his Epicurean friends that he did not consider their relationship an *amicitia*; instead, he seemed to suggest that from all of his associations with people from different backgrounds and philosophical beliefs, he only viewed as real *amicitiae* the relationships that were grounded in virtue and love (*Amic.* 26). As a result, based on *De Amicitia* Cicero would regard even an Epicurean such as Atticus an *amicus*, if he was a *bonus*, similar to him in character, and with an interest in a relationship with him that did not depend on usefulness but on similarity in character.

6. Words vs Deeds

The fact that one's beliefs do not necessarily define one as a person is pointed out by Cicero himself in *De Finibus*. Apart from discussing Epicurean philosophy and clarifying his opposition to Epicurus' doctrines, he examines Epicurus as a person and his conduct with his friends. He stresses that his criticism of Epicurus is concerned with his intellect (*non satis acutus fuit*) and not with his character (*Fin.* 2.80). He claims that he believes that it is likely that Epicurus was not only a good person (*Fin.* 2.80-81), but also kind and loyal to his friends (*Fin.* 2.80). Interestingly, he makes a similar observation about Epicurus' followers

³⁸ For a further discussion of Epicurus' view of justice and injustice, see ARMSTRONG (1997).

by praising them for some virtues that they display, i.e. for being *graves* and *constantes* (*Fin.* 2.81).³⁹ He argues that some Epicureans do not actually hold the views that they profess to hold (*Fin.* 2.2) or live their lives by following the doctrines of the school; instead of pursuing pleasure, they display loyalty to their friends and a sense of duty to their country (*Fin.* 2.81). By observing that, while most people's actions tend to be worse than their thoughts, the conduct of certain Epicureans shows the opposite (*Fin.* 2.81), he suggests that one can be an Epicurean without fully embracing the school's teachings. He thus draws a distinction between professed views and practical application of them.

A study of Cicero's philosophical works shows that the vast majority of his positive references to Epicureanism are about its adherents.⁴⁰ In *De Oratore* 3.64, he makes a distinction between the Epicurean school and Epicurus' followers by rejecting the former and referring to Epicureans as *boni* and *beati*. Similar praise of Epicureans can be found in *Academica* where he notes: *sustinuero Epicureos, tot meos familiares, tam bonos, tam inter se amantes uiros* (*Luc.* 115). It follows that his hostility towards Epicureanism targets the principles of the school rather than all the people who profess to follow them. Nonetheless, it remains unclear why Cicero displays such zeal in his efforts to discredit Epicurean philosophy. He appears to address this matter with the following statement (*Fin.* 2.44):

cum Epicuro autem hoc plus est negotii, quod e duplici genere uoluptatis coniunctus est, quodque et ipse et amici eius et multi postea defensores eius sententiae fuerunt, et nescio quo modo, is qui auctoritatem minimam habet, maximam uim, populus cum illis facit. quos nisi redarguimus, omnis uirtus, omne decus, omnis uera laus deserenda est.

He seems to suggest that his disapproval is not limited to Epicurean philosophy, as the general public (*populus*) displays a similar behaviour, giving the false impression that they are adherents of the Epicurean school. Based on his claims, it appears that through his philosophical works, he was trying to enlighten his fellow citizens and to prevent them from abandoning virtue by exposing the dangers of living a life that was in accord with the choices that a true believer of Epicureanism would make. His attitude towards Epicurean philosophy also indicates a conscious effort to show that his association with Epicureans was not a reflection of his philosophical beliefs.⁴¹ It would follow that in *De Amicitia* and the rest of his public works, he would have to reject all of Epicurus' notions, even if he did agree with some of them to a certain degree.

³⁹ Similarly, RAUBITSCHKE (1949), p. 96, 98 points out that Cicero's polemic was not against all Epicureans and that he even displayed affection towards his teacher, Phaedrus.

⁴⁰ For a more extensive list of Cicero's positive references to Epicureanism, see MACGILLIVRAY (2015), p. 14, n. 48.

⁴¹ Such a concern over his public perception can be observed in *Fin.* 1.27 where he notes *quid enim me prohiberet Epicureum esse, si probarem, quae ille diceret?*

In order to achieve a better understanding of Cicero's relationship with Atticus, it is important to return to two statements that Cicero makes. In *De Amicitia* he identifies *amicitia* as *omnium diuinarum humanarumque rerum ... consensio* (*Amic.* 20). His assertion gives the impression that he did not consider his relationship with Atticus a true *amicitia*. Nevertheless, in December 61 he claims that he does not see any difference between Atticus and himself other than Atticus' decision to refrain from pursuing a political career (*Att.* 1.17.5). Although it does not necessarily follow that Cicero's remark is beyond doubt a genuine expression of the similarities that he recognised in their characters, their correspondence does suggest an *amicitia* that was grounded in appreciation of each other's character. Cicero's letters to Atticus also show that Atticus was not the type of Epicurean who followed all of the school's principles, especially in terms of the relationship that he developed with Cicero.

Cicero's claims in his letters to Atticus indicate that a unique *φιλία* developed between them over the years.⁴² Statements found in Cicero's letters to Atticus indicate that Atticus was his most intimate friend.⁴³ Apart from enjoying each other's letters and company when they were in Rome,⁴⁴ they show a deep concern for one another both through their words in the letters and with their actions.⁴⁵ Atticus seems to display a notably altruistic and Aristotelian attitude towards Cicero in their correspondence. According to Cicero, Atticus appears to be more concerned about Cicero's affairs than his own (*Att.* 11.6.1). Similar praise of Atticus can be found in a letter from 31 May 45 in which Cicero expresses his appreciation for Atticus' remarkable commitment to

⁴² GRIFFIN (1997), p. 91 argues against the notion of Cicero having a unique kind of *amicitia* with Atticus and states that similar observations can be made about Cicero's *amicitiae* with some of his other correspondents who were not involved in politics. WILLIAMS (2012), p. 231 makes a similar observation and argues that although Cicero's statements to Atticus give the impression of "exclusivity", they were, nonetheless, "by no means unique to Atticus".

⁴³ RAUH (1986), p. 7; GLUCKER (1988), p. 68; ROSKAM (2007), p. 49; WILLIAMS (2012), p. 231.

⁴⁴ Cicero seems to have considered Atticus' letters pleasant (*Att.* 9.6.5, 9.7.2, 9.9.1, 10.13.1, 11.11.1, 12.39.2, 12.4.1). It is worth stressing that he does not only welcome Atticus' letters and tell him that he sees them as a kind of relief and solace (*Att.* 11.8.1, 11.10.2, 12.10, 12.16), but also admits of a craving for his letters (*Att.* 11.4) and claims that *nam me adhuc tuae litterae sustentant* (*Att.* 9.9.4). A similar point is expressed in *Att.* 9.10.10.

⁴⁵ An example of the notable difference between Cicero's *amicitia* with Atticus and some of his other friends and allies can be found in a letter from 20 May 45. Atticus' pleasant imminent arrival to Tusculum is contrasted with Nikias and Valerius' visit to his house. He claims that in the company of such men *magis tamen ero solus quam si unus essem* (*Att.* 12.51.1). His remark on Atticus' departure from his house also indicates a strong *amicitia* between the two men, as he notes that *discessus adflixit* (*Att.* 12.50). On 8 May 45, even though he realises the paradox in his statement, he nonetheless expresses his wish to Atticus to share his solitude with him (*Att.* 12.14.3).

Cicero's affairs and his desire to see him (*Att.* 12.5A).⁴⁶ On 17 August 58, he also refers to Atticus as another self: *me enim ipsum multo magis accuso, deinde te quasi me alterum* (*Att.* 3.15.4). By making such a claim about him,⁴⁷ he suggests the existence of an Aristotelian *φιλία* between them.⁴⁸ The correspondence also indicates that Cicero and Atticus greatly enjoyed each other's company. Though the effect that Atticus' visits to Cicero and vice versa had on him is common in his correspondence, his letter from 19 May 45 is a representative example of the pleasure their *φιλία* appears to have offered to him, as almost the entire letter solely addresses this matter:

ut me leuarat tuus aduentus, sic discessus adflixit. qua re cum poteris ... reuises nos. uel unus dies mihi erit utilis, quid dicam gratus? ipse Romam uenirem ut una essemus ... (*Att.* 12.50)

This is one of the rare occasions in Cicero's letters where his display of affection is not accompanied immediately by a request. It suggests a deep connection and a strong *φιλία* between them since Cicero does not simply describe it as something pleasant and positive in his life, but argues that Atticus' company can alter his mood completely.⁴⁹

Based on his remarks on his affection for Tullia (*Att.* 11.17, *QFr.* 1.3.3), it could be argued that apart from the benefits that he received because of his *φιλία* with Atticus, he was impressed by Atticus' many virtues. Despite the obvious bias in Nepos' work, as Atticus' contemporary and friend,⁵⁰ the biographer gives an insight into Atticus' life and the virtues that he displayed in his

⁴⁶ Atticus' willingness to put Cicero's needs first is a common theme in the correspondence (*Att.* 12.16, 12.18.4, 12.26.1, 12.44.3, 13.64).

⁴⁷ Additionally, on 2 March 49 he assures Atticus that *ego tecum tamquam mecum loquor* (*Att.* 8.14.2), a statement which suggests a unique bond between them. However, considering the fact that he makes a similar claim to Caesar (*Fam.* 7.5.1), despite his remarks on him before and during the Civil War, his claim should not necessarily be treated as his genuine view of their *amicitia*. On Cicero's regard of Atticus as *me alterum*, see FUHRMANN (1992), p. 151. A list of examples of Cicero's use of *me alterum* can be found in WILCOX (2012), p. 180, n. 14.

⁴⁸ *Eth. Nic.* 1161b28-29, 1169b6-7, 1170b5-8, *Eth. Eud.* 1236a31-32, 1237a36, 1245a30. LEACH (1993), p. 18-20 argues that considering Atticus' decision to avoid assuming an active role in Roman politics, he could not have been regarded by Cicero as the ideal kind of friend or another self, since he argues that there should be complete agreement between friends (*Amic.* 20), especially on public matters (*Amic.* 103). This view is followed by WILCOX (2012), p. 15 who, nonetheless, also notes that their *amicitia* "seems close to the ideal" found in *De Amicitia*. Similarly, BARAZ (2012), p. 55 argues that the relationship between Cicero and Atticus was the closest type of *φιλία* to the Aristotelian primary kind in which friends are each other's *alter ego*.

⁴⁹ *Att.* 9.4.1, 12.1, 12.27.2.

⁵⁰ STEM (2009), p. 125. DIONISOTTI (1988), p. 45 argues that since Nepos' *Atticus* was mostly written in Atticus' lifetime, it "is likely to be less revealing of Nepos' own views than biographies of remote historical subjects".

everyday conduct.⁵¹ His honesty,⁵² his willingness to forgive (Nep., *Att.* 11.5), his humanity (Nep., *Att.* 4.1, 16.1) and his discretion⁵³ could have appealed to Cicero, as he seems to have found someone in whom he could confide. Some statements in Cicero's letters suggest that to a certain extent Atticus had similar feelings of affection for Cicero. On 6 April 58, when Cicero was in exile in Thuri, he expresses his gratitude to Atticus by noting that *me ipsum semper amasti* (*Att.* 3.5). Though this statement is not a direct quotation from Atticus and thus might not have been an accurate representation of Atticus' perception of his *φιλία* with Cicero, it does indicate a strong, Aristotelian bond between them. The possibility of an Aristotelian element in their *φιλία* is further suggested by Cicero in a letter from 4 May 44 in which he claims that *scio enim si quid mea intersit tibi maiori curae solere esse quam mihi* (*Att.* 12.37.3). He also seems to have liked him more than his other friends because of Atticus being well-educated and cultured (*Att.* 12.6.2) as opposed to some of his friends for whom he expresses his disappointment in their *ἀπαιδευσία* and *ἀτριψία* (*Att.* 13.16.1).⁵⁴ Therefore, their *φιλία* seems to have been based on virtue and similarity in character in accordance with Aristotle's (*Eth. Nic.* 1155a 3-4) and Cicero's (*Amic.* 27, 30) own account of a real *amicitia*.

As Griffin points out in her discussion of Atticus' Epicureanism, although Atticus as an interlocutor in Cicero's works identifies himself as an Epicurean, he does not seem to have agreed with all of Epicurus' teachings.⁵⁵ In *Brut.* 292 Atticus expresses a positive view of the Socratic irony found in the works of Plato, Xenophon, and Aeschines and states that he disagrees with Epicurus' censure of it. In *Fin.* 5.3, after mentioning that he is a devotee of Epicurus, he notes that, apart from the founder of the Epicurean school, he only cares about the living, despite Epicurus arguing that even though one should avoid mourning one's friends, one should, nonetheless, think of them (*Sent. Vat.* 66, *K.D.* 20). In *De Legibus* Atticus appears to be in agreement with Cicero in terms of his view of the gods as governing nature, despite Epicurus' conviction that gods do not interfere in people's lives (*K.D.* 1). Atticus also notes that his fellow Epicureans would disapprove of him expressing such a view (*Leg.* 1.21). In *Att.* 7.2.4,

⁵¹ Nepos provides a detailed list of Atticus' virtues in *Att.* 13-17.

⁵² According to Nepos, Atticus *mendacium neque dicebat neque pati poterat* (*Att.* 15.1). Though this statement suggests a commendable virtue on Atticus' part, it evidently shows Nepos' tendency to make assertions in his biography, since he could not have possibly known whether or not Atticus had ever lied in his life.

⁵³ STEM (2009), p. 132.

⁵⁴ This is also observed in DAMON'S (2008), p. 177 discussion, in which literature is referred to as a "bond" between Cicero and Atticus. GRIFFIN (1997), p. 109 argues that one of the chief reasons why Cicero maintained an intimate *amicitia* with Atticus throughout his life was their common keen interest in literature. Similarly, PHILLIPS (1986), p. 229 refers to Atticus as a "true bibliophile" and BYRNE (1920), p. 27 as "a master ... in arrangement of a library".

⁵⁵ GRIFFIN (1997), p. 108.

Cicero, after criticising Lucius Saufeius and Patro for their sense of justice and arguing that when they mention Epicurus *se de callido homine loqui, non de bono uiro* (Att. 7.2.4), notes that Atticus praised him for a volume in which he expressed such anti-Epicurean views. It is also noteworthy that, despite the Epicurean doctrine about dissolution of a $\phi\iota\lambda\iota\alpha$ in the case of absence of potential for future benefit (Fin. 2.24; Sent. Vat. 39), Atticus supported Cicero during his exile even when the prospects of his return were evidently slim.⁵⁶ He constantly offered him emotional support (*quod me hortaris ut firmo sim animo*, Att. 11.2.3),⁵⁷ which, according to Cicero's claims, even prevented him from committing suicide (Att. 3.3).⁵⁸ Interestingly, in a letter from April 46, after criticising the Epicurean Balbus for not seeing intrinsic value in virtues (Att. 12.2.2), he praises Atticus for his love for his daughter Attica and contrasts his love with their Epicurean friends' self-centredness.

The close friendship that Cicero developed with Atticus, as seen in their correspondence, indicates that he was aware that a complete agreement between friends was not necessary to create strong bonds of a real *amicitia*. It appears that Atticus' Epicureanism did not prevent him from being a virtuous man who also disagreed with several Epicurean principles, and from becoming Cicero's most intimate friend. The language that Cicero uses in *De Amicitia* as well as the topics that he discusses suggest an intention to chastise the Roman public for abandoning virtue and for being solely interested in their personal gain instead of the common good. Despite his strong disapproval of several Epicurean doctrines as evidently clear mainly in *De Finibus*, he chooses a different approach in *De Amicitia* by making statements that are applicable to the general public and thus avoiding attacking the Epicureans directly. Since he does not argue that Epicureans cannot form an actual *amicitia*, but only those who are interested in relationships that are based on usefulness, he does not insult Atticus with whom he seems to have developed an Aristotelian $\phi\iota\lambda\iota\alpha$ grounded in virtue and whom he claims to have considered another self. Therefore, the lack of clear anti-Epicurean statements in *De Amicitia* and Atticus' conduct with Cicero being at variance with Epicurean principles of $\phi\iota\lambda\iota\alpha$ suggest that there was no contradiction between Cicero's expressed views in *De Amicitia* and Atticus' affiliation with the Epicurean school.

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⁵⁶ On the help that Atticus provided him during his exile, Cicero states in a letter to Atticus that *plurimumque operae, studi, diligentiae, laboris ad conficiendum reditum meum contulisse* (Att. 4.1.1). See also RAWSON (1978), p. 113.

⁵⁷ On Cicero's "emotional attachment" to Atticus, see WELCH (1996), p. 458-459.

⁵⁸ HUTCHINSON (1998), p. 35, nonetheless, argues that Cicero's claim "will not have been literally true".

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Combining and Recycling: The Concepts of Reason, Wisdom, and Knowledge in Francesco Filelfo's *Consolations on Death*

1. Introduction

Francesco Filelfo was one of the major humanists of Quattrocento Italy. Not only was he a very prolific writer, but he also produced writings in many different genres and literary forms.¹ He translated to Latin from Greek and wrote poems, satires, philosophical treatises, orations, epigrams, an epos, commentaries, and more than 2100 letters, which he collected into his *epistolarium*.² This article takes a closer look at two aspects of Filelfo's *modus operandi*, which made it possible for him to produce his impressive œuvre. On the one hand, Filelfo brought together many different sources, opinions, and doctrines in his argumentation. On the other hand, he had the habit of recycling his own material, although a careful investigation shows that he did not do so blindly.

In order to investigate these aspects of his working method throughout his literary output, I decided to focus specifically on the author's interpretation of the concept of 'reason' – one of the most discussed intellectual topics in early modern Europe – in a specific segment of his œuvre, namely his consolatory writings on bereavement. In fact, an examination of consolation literature,³ written precisely when emotions prevail, can enhance our understanding of the role of 'reason'. Of particular interest is the interpretation of 'reason' that

¹ I would like to thank Jeroen De Keyser and the referees of *Latomus* for their valuable comments.

² An excellent overview of Filelfo's life and works can be found in VITI (1997). See also DE' ROSMINI (1808); ADAM (1974); AVESANI *et al.* (ed.) (1986); ROBIN (1991).

³ A concise and useful overview of the evolution of the genre in classical antiquity can be found in BALTUSSEN (2013), p. xiii-xxv. For general literature on the genre of consolation in classical antiquity, see BURESCH (1886); FAVEZ (1937); KASSEL (1958); JOHANN (1968); KIERDORF (1999); SCOURFIELD (2012); BALTUSSEN (2013). For the Middle Ages, see VON MOOS (1971). For the Renaissance, see MCCLURE (1991); CHIECCHI (2005); GOWLAND (2012); KING (1994). For the reception of the genre, see KERN (2016). For a list of funeral orations in the Italian Renaissance, see MCMANAMON (2011). See also D. DREMIERRE, *Découverte et reconstruction érudite du deuil antique par les humanistes du Trecento et du Quattrocento* (doctoral thesis in preparation under the supervision of P. GALAND), in which the author discusses the interpretation of mourning and lamentation in humanist Trecento and Quattrocento.

emerges from his consolations and the extent to which it matches the writer's presentation of the concept in his theoretical discussions. To that end, Filelfo's idea of 'reason' (*ratio*) is discussed first, followed by his analysis of the concepts of 'wisdom' (*sapientia*) and 'prudence' (*prudencia*), and finally by the role he assigned to 'knowledge' (*scientia*) through his attention for a person's studies (*studium*) and erudition (*eruditio*).

A preliminary note on the definition of 'consolatory writings on bereavement' is required. Only texts which were written to console a particular person in a particular situation of loss are considered. Therefore, (theoretical) treatises on death or on ways of consoling are not included in the genre, since these are arguably better regarded as metaconsolatory writings, rather than as consolations in the strict sense. Adopting Scourfield's model for mapping consolatory texts in classical antiquity⁴ and applying it to Filelfo's œuvre, I have identified forty-one consolatory writings on bereavement: thirty-two consolations in the form of a letter (thirty-one letters published in Filelfo's *epistolarium*, and the *Consolatio ad Marcellum*), five in the form of an oration (four on the occasion of a funeral and one on the occasion of an exhumation), and four in the form of a poem (two in Latin and two in Greek).⁵

⁴ For SCOURFIELD (2013), p. 16, a consolation has "as a more or less explicit purpose the delivery of words of consolation to specific recipients in specific situations of personal loss." Scourfield's 'map' enables scholars to define each work as consolatory to a greater or a lesser extent, depending on the presence of certain "consolatory ingredients" and, most importantly, on the presence of a social function. If a writing has an immediate cause and a specific person is being consoled in a specific situation of personal loss, this writing can be considered to belong to "the core group" of the genre. If not, in some cases we can still assign it a less central position in the genre. A text which was not written for a specific, practical purpose and employs a more "reflective mode" falls under the heading of "metaconsolatory." For a more extensive discussion of the genre and the problems of its definition, see FRANÇOIS (2017), p. 551-554 in which I propose the application of this mapping model for classical consolation to early modern consolation literature.

⁵ The letters are PhE·05.06, 06.32, 15.07, 17.03, 17.19, 17.26, 18.06, 18.25, 23.23, 24.13, 27.40, 28.01, 30.06, 30.36 (Φ·082; in Greek), 31.16, 31.43, 33.01, 34.20, 35.32, 36.04, 36.10, 38.23, 42.10, 42.12, 42.20, 42.28, 43.13, 45.08, 45.15, 45.16, 46.11; *Consolatio ad Iacobum Antonium Marcellum de obitu Valerii filii*. The references to Filelfo's *epistolarium* are to Filelfo's subdivision of it, as presented in DE KEYSER (2015b), the first number referring to the book and the second to the sequence of the letters within that book. Thus PhE·15.07 is to be understood as letter 7 of Book 15, etc. I will limit my references to the indication of these serial numbers and of the line numbers which can be found in the edition. All references to Filelfo's *Consolatio ad Marcellum* are to my forthcoming edition. The orations are *Oratio habita in funere diuae uirginis Blancae Mariae, Mediolanensium ducis*; *Oratio funebris pro magnifico ducali senatore et clarissimo equite aurato Philippo Borrhomaeco, comite Haronae*; *Oratio funebris pro magnifico equite aurato ducalique senatore Stephano Frederico Thodeschino*; *Oratio in funere domini Baldesaris [sic] Castellioni*; *Oratio parentalis de diui Francisci Sphortiae, Mediolanensium ducis, felicitate*. The poems are *Psychagogia* 3.3 and 3.6; *Oda* 2.7; *Ad*

2. Combining: reason and wisdom

2.1. Reason: exhortatio ad rationem

In a consolation on bereavement, written to a grief-stricken person, the author attempts to assuage the mourner's pain and, if necessary, exhort him to put an end to his lamentations. In this context, consolers often feel the need to reflect on the role of 'reason'.

Filelfo clearly advocated the (Peripatetic) idea of *metriopatheia*, which allowed a moderate experience of emotion and pain, as the ideal state of mind.⁶ In two consolatory writings, his *Oratio funebris pro S.F. Thodeschino* and a letter to Federico da Montefeltro (16 July 1472), he unequivocally rejects the excessive severity of the (Stoic) ideal of *apatheia*, which demands the extirpation of emotions and an undisturbed mind, unaffected by feelings (or *πάθη*):⁷

*Nec Stoicis assentior, qui, quod natura fieri non potest, aegritudinem omnem amouent. Non enim sum animo perfracto, saxeo, ferreo, adamantino.*⁸

*Nam quanquam Stoici ea, quae uel ad corpus uel ad fortunam pertinent, neque in bonis habenda arbitrantur neque in malis, oratio profecto magnifica est et grauissimis digna sapientissimisque uiris, sed ita supra hominis naturam, ut qui tanta constantia fuerit, ut nihil moueatur omnino, uel saxeus certe ducendus sit uel Deus, quanquam etiam legimus Christum optimum maximum, qui et summi Dei filius esset et ipse Deus, doluisse flauisseque.*⁹

Filelfo allowed a moderate expression of emotions, as he deemed this the appropriate reaction for human nature. According to Filelfo, the Stoic ideal of *apatheia* was not achievable: only a person "made of stone", hardly human, or a God could remain unaffected by the loss of a loved one, even though, so he adds, Christ himself wept. This idea exemplifies the way *metriopatheia* was tailored to Christianity.¹⁰ The acceptance of emotional expression can be explained in light of what Kristeller called the humanists' "recognition and

Marcellum nomine Francisci Sphortiae consolatio. For an evaluation of Filelfo's consolatory writings, I refer the reader to my forthcoming edition and study of Filelfo's *Consolatio ad Marcellum*.

⁶ In this, he follows the views of both Pseudo-Plutarch in the *Consolatio ad Apollonium* (*Mor.* 102c-d) and Cicero in the *Tusculan Disputations* (3.6.12), two important sources, who also preferred the ideal of *metriopatheia* to the "impossible and unprofitable" *apatheia*.

⁷ For an introduction to the philosophic notions of *ἀπάθεια* and *μετριοπάθεια*, see ENGELMEIER (1971); DILLON (1983); SORABJI (2000), p. 194-210, 385-399; KNUUTTILA (2004), p. 6, 88-89, 91-93; MEYER / MARTIN (2013), p. 650-653.

⁸ FILELFO (1483/84), f. 41v.

⁹ PhE:35.32, l. 9-14.

¹⁰ See SORABJI (2000), p. 343-356; RITTGERS (2012), p. 46-47.

expression of man's feelings and opinions".¹¹ Many humanists advocated the ideal of the *uita actiua* (as opposed to the passive *uita contemplatiua*) and considered engagement in their own emotions and in those of others to be part of this way of life: they saw themselves as "doctors of the mind",¹² endeavoring to "heal" others as well as themselves.¹³ As McClure has argued, early modern consolatory writings "represent a vital part of the humanist exploration of the emotional world."¹⁴ As a member of that humanist movement, Filelfo shared the ideas of other fourteenth- and fifteenth-century humanist writers of consolation literature, such as Petrarch (before his conversion to Stoicism), Conversini, Salutati, and Manetti.¹⁵

Nonetheless, as Filelfo mentioned in his letter to Federico da Montefeltro, he admired Stoic equanimity. In fact, he explicitly expressed his inclination toward Stoicism in a letter to Andrea Alamanni (8 December 1450):

*Cum multae sint philosophorum sectae [...] ego illam maxime disciplinam sequor et secutus sum semper, quam ab Anthistene profectam amplificauit Zeno, perfecit Chrysippus.*¹⁶

In fact, in his consolatory writings as well, Filelfo repeatedly stresses the importance of moderation and assigns an important role to 'reason',¹⁷ significantly more so than his humanist predecessors. Salutati rejected the rational, secular Stoic consolatory argumentation for a belief in the supremacy of the will and a reliance on God and the healing of time.¹⁸ Manetti and Conversini likewise attacked the rigid Stoic repudiation of sorrow by defending the legitimacy of grief.¹⁹ In his first writings (e.g. his *Familiares*), Petrarch also defended the remedy of tears. Later on, however, in his *Seniles*, he criticized his former emotional reactions, as such becoming an example for Filelfo.²⁰ Filelfo lists three reasons – which are already found in classical consolation literature²¹ – why the

¹¹ KRISTELLER (1979), p. 30.

¹² McCLURE (1991), p. 4.

¹³ See *Ibid.*, p. 106-109.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 106-107.

¹⁶ PhE·08.08, l. 10-12.

¹⁷ McCLURE (1991), p. 109.

¹⁸ See RICE (1958), p. 41-42; McCLURE (1991), p. 95-98.

¹⁹ See McCLURE (1991), p. 99-104.

²⁰ See e.g. *Ibid.*, p. 32-34, 39-41; NOTA (2004), p. 207; PETR., *Sen.* 10.4, 10: *Non committam, sciens, cuius me confestim pudeat, ut multarum hodie pudet epystolarum quas in mortibus meorum, dolore animi uictus, nimis molliter quamuis pie, euo quondam teneriore profudi. Spero me deinceps muliebribus saltem malis explicitum*, NOTA (2004), p. 281, 283. For a more extensive comparison of Petrarch's *Sen.* 10.4 and Filelfo's *Consolatio ad Marcellum*, see FRANÇOIS (2017), p. 557-561.

²¹ See e.g. JOHANN (1968), p. 36-40, 50-63, 85-99 for a discussion of the three arguments in the ancient consolation literature.

bereaved should come to terms with their loss; each time he suggests the use of 'reason' (*ratio*) as a solution. First, the grief has lasted long enough. Filelfo offers 'reason' as an alternative to 'time' (*tempus*), arguing that, even though "time heals all wounds," the consoland should resort to reason to accelerate the healing process.²² Second, boundless grief is shameful, ungrateful, and sets a bad example. This dishonorable attitude can be attributed to a single cause, the weakness of nature, which can only be restrained by reason. Filelfo thus creates a second opposition, namely that of 'reason' versus the 'weakness of human nature' (*imbecillitas, mollicia naturae*).²³ Third, tears and lamentation do not change anything, they will not bring back the dead, and are therefore useless. 'Reason' is again the solution, this time opposed to '(vain) desire' (*cupiditas*).²⁴ The Quattrocento humanist can therefore rightly be considered a "strong defender" of 'reason'.²⁵ This focus on the use of reason exemplifies Filelfo's interpretation of one of the key elements of the genre of consolation, namely the exhortation to respond to one's loss in an appropriate way.²⁶

²² See e.g. *Consolatio ad Marcellum*, 156: *Et turpe est profecto plus apud te ualere tempus quam rationem*; 163: *Sed ecce annus iam tibi praeterit: satis naturae imbecillitati, satis opinioni, satis officio tributum est. Iam ratione uti nos decet; Oratio funebris pro S.F. Thodeschino: Quare nolimus, obsecro, patres amplissimi, uahementius dolore affici quam oporteat, et quod non diu post tempus docebit, huiusmodi necessitatem aequo animo ferendam esse iam hinc ratio ipsa docere nos incipiat*, FILELFO (1483/84), f. 42r; *Oratio funebris pro Ph. Borrhomaero: Vinciatur igitur obstringaturque omnis animi dolor rationis custodia, ut quem denique tempus tollet omnino, eum iam hinc sedet prudentia et consilium*, FILELFO (1483/84), f. 35r; PhE·17.19, l. 7-8: *Quod autem tempus solet, id ratione praestare sapientis est*.

²³ See e.g. *Consolatio ad Marcellum*, 91: *Apud Lycios uero non morem dumtaxat, sed legem fuisse legimus ut non nisi ueste muliebri luctum seruarent, idque ob eam rem factum, ut cultus deformitate commoti se maturius a maerore abducerent, cum intelligerent luctum effoeminatum esse et mollem et a uiri grauitate dignitateque maxime alienum. Tot igitur exemplis admoniti non uincemus tandem omnem animi molliciam?*; 163: *Sed ecce annus iam tibi praeterit: satis naturae imbecillitati, satis opinioni, satis officio tributum est. Iam ratione uti nos decet*; PhE·18.25, l. 81-84: *Cuius nos desyderium tametsi pro imbecillitate molliciaque naturae non mouere non potest, efficiat tamen ratio ut nostrum omne (quidquid est) incommodi cum illius maximo commodo commutemus*; PhE·36.04, l. 36-38: *Est insuper tibi habenda ratio uel aetatis tuae uel imbecillitatis ipsius corporis. Quod si feceris, et luctui modum impones et mox omni maerore abstinebis. Non enim es nescius hominis naturam maerore labefactari maxime*.

²⁴ See e.g. *Oratio parentalis*, l. 40-41: *Nam quid prodest, excellentissimi principes, quicquam optare quod sperare non liceat?*, DE KEYSER (2015a), p. 244; PhE·17.19, l. 6-7: *Quid enim prosit ea in re animi cruciari, quae remedii aliud nihil admittit quam obliuisci oportere quod curari non potest?*

²⁵ McCLURE (1991), p. 109.

²⁶ SCOURFIELD (2013), p. 5-7 highlights the ethical dimension of the genre. The ancient consolation did not only have the psychological purpose of conveying comfort, it also had the ethical purpose of convincing the consoland to address the loss in an appropriate way. It characterizes a consolatory text and distinguishes it from a writing in which the author merely ventilates his own grief or reflects on the pain of a loss.

2.2. *Wisdom*: “Sapientis est”. Sapientia, prudentia, and scientia

The appropriate reaction, guided by ‘reason’, is to recall that although all humans are born mortal, their immortal soul lives on. Therefore, we should not bemoan the decease of loved ones, but instead be grateful for the life which God had given them on loan. According to Filelfo, this is the attitude of “the wise”. But who is this *uir sapiens*? In order to understand Filelfo’s interpretation of the concept of ‘wisdom’, we must first investigate the writer’s position within a much larger debate in fifteenth-century Renaissance Italy, i.e. the Plato-Aristotle Controversy.²⁷ During this philosophical battle between Platonists and Aristotelians, which began with George Gemistos Pletho’s *De differentiis Platonis et Aristotelis* in 1439, and became a heavily discussed topic with George Trapezuntius’s *Comparatio philosophorum Aristotelis et Platonis* (1458) on the Aristotelian side and Cardinal Bessarion’s *In calumniatorem Platonis* (1469) on the Platonic side, humanists compared both doctrines and addressed the role Christianity could play in this debate. Filelfo had to tread carefully, since he did not wish to put his friendship with either Trapezuntius or Bessarion at risk.²⁸

Although Filelfo had long been considered an Aristotelian by modern scholarship,²⁹ in the late 1970s scholarly attention shifted to his interest in the Platonic, Neoplatonic, Stoic, and Augustinian doctrines. Kraye, in discussing Filelfo’s lost letter *De ideis*, remarks that Filelfo showed much interest in the Platonic theory of Ideas and the Christian perception of it. Although he discussed Plato’s philosophy, he derived his knowledge of it from Augustine’s *De diuersis quaestionibus octoginta tribus*, namely the *Quaestio XLVI. De ideis* and from Ps.-Plutarch’s *De placitis philosophorum*, rather than directly from Plato’s original source texts.³⁰ In her article on Filelfo’s position in the controversy, Bianca argues that Filelfo deliberately avoided taking sides, and instead combined elements of both philosophers’ doctrines in the conviction that they

²⁷ Brief introductions to the Plato-Aristotle Controversy can be found in KRISTELLER (1972); MONFASANI (1976), p. 201-229; ROBIN (1991), p. 144-149. MOHLER (1967), p. 325-398 discusses the controversy in detail in his study on Bessarion. See also HANKINS (1990), p. 193-263; MONFASANI (2002); BIANCHI (2007); CELENZA (2007), p. 77-81; and the various essays on the topic in MONFASANI (2016).

²⁸ See ROBIN (1991), p. 147-149; DE KEYSER (2011).

²⁹ See the opinions of ROSSI (1953), p. 130; GARIN (1942), p. 150-151; KRISTELLER (1956), p. 339, n. 7. Rossi describes Filelfo’s treatise *De morali disciplina* as an “affrettata compilazione di notizie sulle antiche filosofie, qua e là animata da qualche soffio di spiriti nuovi, ma soggetta principalmente al pensiero aristotelico.” Although Garin admits that Filelfo “propugnò l’accordo di aristotelismo e platonismo,” he also contends that the humanist “del pensiero aristotelico fu per più aspetti fedele seguace.” Kristeller speaks of an “ecletticismo morale aristotelizzante.”

³⁰ KRAYE (1979).

actually had much in common.³¹ Hankins comes to the same conclusion, indicating that “Filelfo is in fact best described as both eclectic and syncretistic” and that this attitude “allowed him to display the range of his philosophical learning” and “to invoke the authority of the ancients *en bloc*”.³² According to Filelfo, wisdom was “the property of no one philosophical school, but scattered throughout the writings of all the wise men of old”,³³ pagan as well as Christian. In her chapter on Filelfo’s *De morali disciplina*, Robin agrees with this view and suggests that in this treatise Filelfo did not only wish to consider some widely debated philosophical and theological topics, but was also attempting to decide “whether the teachings of Aristotle or those of Plato were more compatible with Christian doctrine.”³⁴ Claessens refutes the general belief that Filelfo turned to Platonism later in his life by demonstrating that in his *De morali disciplina* Filelfo recycles a number of Platonic passages from his much earlier dialogue *Commentationes Florentinae de exilio*. Throughout his career, Claessens argues, Filelfo relied on and combined Aristotelian and Platonic ideas, often only *via* intermediate sources, including (Ps.-)Augustine, (Ps.-)Plutarch, Albert the Great, and Thomas of Aquino, among others.³⁵

³¹ BIANCA (1986). In fact, in the philosophical part of his *Consolatio ad Marcellum* (109), Filelfo accuses Aristotle of sophistry, as the latter corrected his former teacher, while he actually agreed with him: *Vnus Aristoteles est inuentus, qui a doctore suo, quem annis uiginti audiuerat, dissentire sit ausus, argutia potius usus quam ueritate. Quod si maluisset uirum se gratum et iustum existimari quam aequae uersutum ac doctum, nunquam ab eo, quod non minus probabat quam acutissime norat, declinasset itinere. Sed ita sunt hominum ingenia gloriae cupiditate plaerunque accensa, ut neque pensi uelint nec ueritatis habere rationem.* CELENZA (2007), p. 78-79 remarks that many late ancient Platonists and other commentators shared this belief.

³² HANKINS (1990), p. 92. Almost a century earlier, TOCCO (1896), p. 490-491 was already examining Filelfo’s philosophical method and voiced his disapproval of the humanist’s eclecticism and syncretism: “Come si può conciliare la dottrina stoica della virtù quale bene a sè colla dottrina aristotelica della virtù come giusto mezzo tra gli estremi opposti? [...] Come si può accettare la tripartizione dell’anima e la conseguente dottrina delle virtù cardinali, e scordarsi iubito [*sic*] dopo di questa classificazione per seguire in tutto il resto del trattato quella di Aristotele? [...] Certo qui era facile la conciliazione delle due dottrine ponendo la somma felicità o beatitudine nella contemplazione di Dio, la qual conciliazione avea anche il vantaggio di andare d’accordo con le tradizioni Cristiane. [...] Egli invece pur componendole insieme, le lascia quali sono nella loro crudezza, e pare che non s’accorga neanche della stonatura. Il suo dunque non è un eclettismo, ma [...] un sincretismo, che tradisce più che il filosofo, il dilettante di filosofia.” SAITTA (1928), p. 171 calls Filelfo’s practise “un abietto utilitarismo,” and adds that “senza dubbio, il Filelfo esagera e sfrutta sfacciatamente il sentimento, così diffuso negli umanisti, che lo scrittore è il vero dispensatore della gloria e della infamia.”

³³ HANKINS (1990), p. 92.

³⁴ ROBIN (1991), p. 141.

³⁵ CLAESSENS (2018).

The same can be said about Filelfo's interpretation of the concept of wisdom as expounded in his theoretical writings *Commentationes Florentinae de exilio*, *Conuiuia Mediolanensia*, *De morali disciplina* (in which, as mentioned above, he reused part of the argumentation set forth in the *Commentationes*), and in a number of letters in which he reflects on the topic.³⁶ He adopts the distinction between 'theoretical wisdom', σοφία (*sapientia*), 'practical wisdom', φρόνησις (*prudentia*), and 'scientific knowledge', ἐπιστήμη (*scientia*),³⁷ best known from Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* (1139b-1142a),³⁸ but then – in the tradition of Augustine's Platonism – disagrees with Aristotle's definition (*Eth. Nic.* 1139b19-25) of *scientia*, which is that the objects of *scientia* are necessary (ἐξ ἀνάγκης) and eternal (ἄδεια): *At scientia quam non eorum quae necessitate sunt, ut Aristoteles probare nititur, sed rerum temporalium esse ostendimus*.³⁹ For Filelfo, *scientia* concerns the knowledge of temporary, ephemeral things, whereas the knowledge of higher, divine things – and ultimately of God himself – is indicated by *sapientia*.⁴⁰ We use the same intellect to obtain both types of knowledge, but the objects are different, so Filelfo argues.⁴¹ This distinction was already to be found in the Bible: both Paul and Job demonstrated that one can only achieve true *sapientia* with the help of God.⁴² As a true practitioner of

³⁶ E.g. letters PhE·01.12; PhE·07.18; PhE·07.37; PhE·08.08. For a more detailed discussion of Filelfo's conception of wisdom, I refer the reader to the excellent analysis in CLAESSENS (2018). However, Claessens does not examine the role of *prudentia*.

³⁷ Filelfo also draws attention to some terminological confusion concerning the use of *sapientia*, *scientia*, and *prudentia*. See *Commentationes Florentinae de exilio*, 49-50 (and the almost identical passage in *De morali disciplina*, FILELFO [1552], p. 27): *Nec illud tamen praeterire nos debet, solere aliquando "scientiam" pro "sapientia" appellari. Cum enim idem Paulus ait: "Nunc scio ex parte, tunc autem cognoscam sicut et cognitus sum," huiusmodi scientiam atque cognitionem non in agendo sed in contemplando uersari manifestum est; sicuti etiam illustris aliquos artifices [...] et egregios poetas [...] sapientes uocabat antiquitas, quos omnes nequaquam est dubium in his uersatos quae et temporis sunt et corporis*, DE KEYSER / BLANCHARD (2013), p. 36; PhE·08.08, l. 107-109: *Nam alii prudentiam summum bonum esse dixerunt, eandem hi quidem "prudentiam" appellant quam "sapientiam", quae tota in ueri inuestigatione cognitioneque consistit*, DE KEYSER (2015b), p. 417.

³⁸ Aristotle also distinguishes τέχνη (*ars*), "technical skill" and νοῦς (*mens*), "intelligence".

³⁹ *De morali disciplina*, FILELFO (1552), p. 26; *Commentationes Florentinae de exilio*, 48, DE KEYSER / BLANCHARD (2013), p. 34.

⁴⁰ PhE·07.37, l. 51-56: *Nam uera et incommutabilis uirtus sapientia est; quae nihil fictum, nihil simulatum admittit, sed ad ueritatem caelestium rerum tota Deumque refertur. Omnis autem scientia haec inferior et scientiae partes quas actiuas et moralis uirtutes dicimus, ita uirtutem sapiunt, si sapientiae se coniunxerint. Nam scientia omnis huiusmodi, quae sapientiam nesciat, et manca est et debilis nullorumque neruorum*.

⁴¹ PhE·07.18, l. 32-33: *Intellectu autem ad scientiae cognitionem peruenimus et (quod est sapientiae proprium) diuinam essentiam naturamque contemplamur*.

⁴² Filelfo refers to I COR 12:8 and IOB 28:28 in *Commentationes Florentinae de exilio*, 46-47, and the almost identical passage in *De morali disciplina*, FILELFO (1552),

the *philosophia Christiana*, Filelfo here brings together the Christian and Platonic doctrines by describing the Platonic Idea as *principalem quandam rationem rerum, quae diuina continetur intelligentia*.⁴³ Unsurprisingly, Filelfo declares *scientia* inferior,⁴⁴ and *sapientia* “the leader and queen of all virtues”.⁴⁵

However, according to Filelfo, a *uir bonus* should not only be wise (*sapiens*), he should also be prudent (*prudens*). Although the humanist sometimes seems to minimize the role of *prudentia* by calling it a technical skill which imitates nature and does not seek the truth of higher and divine objects – as does *sapientia* – but of inferior and human objects,⁴⁶ he generally underscores the importance of practical wisdom: only someone who has already obtained *sapientia* can attempt to achieve *prudentia*, since any good action can only be the result of contemplation.⁴⁷ Filelfo’s discussion of Virgil’s *Aeneid* is illuminating in this respect. Filelfo argues that Virgil portrayed Aeneas as a man who was both wise and prudent. Both virtues, he continues, are peculiar to the intellect or, more precisely, the first to the intellect and the second to reason, since *prudentia* is concerned with the deliberation of temporal matters, while *sapientia* relates to eternal matters. Because of its position as the leading virtue in earthly civic life, true *prudentia* cannot only be considered an intellectual virtue, but must also be regarded as partly a moral virtue. Since *prudentia* deals with

p. 26: *Differt enim a sapientia scientia, ut a contemplatione actio. Id quod etiam eruditus ille sanctissimusque Paulus non obscure ostendit, inquit: “Alii quidem per spiritum datur sermo sapientiae, alii sermo scientiae secundum eundem spiritum.” Idem etiam docet innocentissimus Iob, cum ait: “Ecce pietas est sapientia. Abstinere autem a malis scientia est.” Qua certe distinctione satis liquido declaratur sapientiam contemplationis, scientiam esse actionis. Nam pietas hoc loco ea est uirtus qua Deum colimus,* DE KEYSER / BLANCHARD (2013), p. 34.

⁴³ *De morali disciplina*, FILELFO (1552), p. 12-13. For an Italian translation of the passage, see GARIN (1942), p. 152-157. For Filelfo’s discussion of the Platonic Idea, see KRAYE (1979).

⁴⁴ *Commentationes Florentinae de exilio*, 50, and the almost identical passage in *De morali disciplina*, FILELFO (1552), p. 27: *Ratio inferior ea est, quae ad hasce pertinet res sciendas quae corporis et temporis mutabilitati ac loeto subiectae sunt. Superior uero quae illa respicit quae interitum nesciunt, mutabilitatem omnem et inconstantiam aspernantur, suntque diuina*, DE KEYSER / BLANCHARD (2013), p. 36.

⁴⁵ FILELFO (1552), p. 26: *Eadem hac una denique uirtutum omnium principem ac regina; PhE-07.37, l. 58-59: principem atque reginam uirtutum omnium, quam sapientiam dicimus.*

⁴⁶ PhE-01.12, l. 31-33: *Prudentia enim sapientiam ita, ut ars naturam imitata ueritatem quidem inquit, sed non rerum superiorum atque diuinarum, sed inferiorum et humanarum.*

⁴⁷ PhE-07.18, l. 39-40: *prudens esse nemo queat, nisi sapiens fuerit (nam omnis recta actio a contemplatione manat); PhE-07.37, l. 56-59: Quem enim prudentem dixerō, quem iustum, quem liberalem, quem forti et magno animo uirum, quem denique modestum, frugi, temperantem, qui [...] sapientiam [...] ignorarit?*

worldly things, it is useless and weak unless it emanates from *sapientia*.⁴⁸ Thus Filelfo's ideal is the combination of the contemplation of divine matters and ultimately of God, and the active application of this wisdom in a morally sound way of living.⁴⁹ Neither *sapientia* nor *prudentia* is a natural endowment. Accordingly, they both require some degree of effort: *sapientia* can be obtained through learning, whereas *prudentia* is the result of lengthy experience.⁵⁰

In Filelfo's consolatory writings, a similar picture emerges: when Filelfo elaborates on the concept of wisdom, he assumes the same hierarchical disposition of the different forms of wisdom as in his theoretical works. *Scientia* retains its inferior role. In the *Consolatio ad Marcellum*, for example, *scientia* is only mentioned once, whereas *prudentia* and *prudens* appear twenty-six times and *sapientia* and *sapiens* forty times. Moreover, in the only passage where Filelfo uses the term *scientia*, he stresses its insufficiency:

*Ex quibus unus ubi iocabundus subdidisset: "Cura, Valeri, litteras et haec relinque patri," continuo excepit: "At ego in patre et pater in me est. Praeterea an ignoratis ex litteris scientiam gigni, scientiam uero omnem referri ad actionem? Quid enim profuerit cuiquam uirtutem scire, nisi secundum uirtutem egerit?"*⁵¹

Scientia is useless if it is not translated into action. Thus the dead and the bereaved are praised for their prudence, not for their knowledge. This interpretation

⁴⁸ PhE·01.12, l. 36-46: *In uita igitur ciuili prudentia sola est, quae moralibus cunctis uirtutibus dominatur easque sola et moderatur et regit. At prudentia fracta est et debilis nullorumque neruorum, nisi manet ab una sapientia ad eamque tanquam ad principem reginamque referatur. Quare qui prudentiam (a prouidendo dictam) mediam posuerunt inter moralis intellectualisque uirtutes eamque idcirco perfectam uoluerunt esse uirtutem in ciuili felicitate, quoniam uirtutum ciuilium omnium principium sit et forma, ii nihil sensisse a ueritate alienum existimandi sunt. Ita ergo proponit Virgilius Aenean a se canendum ut uirum, hoc est, ut sapientem eundemque prudentem. Quae quidem uirtutes aut intellectus sunt ambae, aut intellectus altera et rationis altera. Nam ratio temporalium est, intellectus autem aeternorum ita, ut haec tota in contemplando sit posita, illa autem in consultando.* See also GIUSTINIANI (1980) for an analysis of Filelfo's letter and CLAESSENS (2018), p. 54 for the pair *intellectus-ratio*.

⁴⁹ RICE (1958), p. 49, 50 labels Filelfo's interpretation the "more traditional conception of wisdom" in opposition to the more innovative "civic enthusiasm of Bruni, Palmieri, Manetti, and Alberti." Although Filelfo does assign an important role to the Christian doctrine, his ideas should not be considered more traditional or medieval than those of his immediate predecessors and contemporaries. Although he pays more attention to the idea of divine assistance, Filelfo's statements match Rice's definition of the civic view on wisdom, with its emphasis on the active life, very closely. In fact, SAIITA (1928), p. 175 had already remarked Filelfo's belief in the strength of human nature: "Resta ancora in lui (Filelfo) un residuo religioso, ma esso non è che una formula secca, isterilita: il regno della grazia è sostituito interamente dal regno della natura."

⁵⁰ PhE·08.08, l. 55-56: *Neque prudentes nascimur nec sapientes. Alterum doctrina gignit, alterum longissimi usus temporis et multarum uariarumque rerum praebet experientia.*

⁵¹ *Consolatio ad Marcellum*, 11.

is in keeping with the requirements of the genre, since every consolation contains an exhortation to the consoland to act in an appropriate way. The good examples of the deceased or of predecessors who have achieved the *prudentia*, another consolatory ingredient, can substantiate that appeal.

Again, Filelfo did not hesitate to resort to Aristotelian, Platonic, and Christian thinking. In his letter of consolation to the sons of Palla Strozzi on the death of their father,⁵² Filelfo presents some Aristotelian ideas. He refers to Arist., *Eth. Nic.* 1144b32, when he argues that we cannot obtain true *prudentia* without having obtained all the moral virtues, and to Arist., *Rhet.* 1366b25, when he adds that practical wisdom is a virtue of reason:

*Et in rebus quidem hisce inferioribus atque humanis prudentia ipsa, cui uices suas sapientia, uirtutum omnium domina ac regina, commendauit, quanquam sine morum uirtutibus (ut Aristoteli placet) perfecta esse non potest, sola tamen est qua uirtus, si caret, uirtus esse nullo pacto queat. Hanc uero nisi per multam rerum peritiam assequi non licet. Itaque et longo tempore opus est et rerum in utranque fortunam multiplicium atque uariarum usu ac pertractatione.*⁵³

*Nam prudentia, quae rationalis est uirtus, in hominum actionibus maxime elucescit.*⁵⁴

Sapientia is again called the ruler and queen of all virtues, and *prudentia* is presented as concerned with inferior and human objects. Furthermore, practical wisdom can only be achieved through lengthy experience. In his *Oratio funebris pro S.F. Thodeschino*, we see a more Platonic and Christian influence. First Filelfo cites the verses from *Book of Job* and 1st *Corinthians* on the difference between *sapientia* and *scientia* which he also used in his *Commentationes Florentinae de exilio* and *De morali disciplina* (cf. *supra*). Then, explaining that Todeschini did not confine himself to the pursuit of *scientia* and earthly virtues, but attempted to come nearer to God through *sapientia*, Filelfo adopts the Platonic and Christian idea of the four cardinal virtues (prudence, justice, courage, and temperance) in opposition to Aristotle, who identified nine virtues:⁵⁵

Quamobrem non solum has nobiles inferiorisque uirtutes – prudentiam, iusticiam, fortitudinem, temperantiam – egregie in omnem uitam sequutus est Thodeschinus, sed multo magis atque magis sapientiam ipsam. Intelligebat enim per huiusmodi temporalium rerum cognitionem et humanae turpitudinis fugam iter sibi quoddam parari ad immortalem Deum, quod tamen se numquam esset

⁵² PhE.18.25, dated 17 June 1462. See also CLAESSENS (2018), p. 48.

⁵³ PhE.18.25, l. 41-46.

⁵⁴ PhE.18.25, l. 47-48.

⁵⁵ For Plato, see e.g. *Resp.* 4.427e-433c; however, in *Prot.* 330b, Plato adds a fifth virtue, ὁσιότης. See also CIC., *Inu.* 2.53 (159). For the Bible, see SAP. 8.7; and IV MACH. 1.18-19. For the church fathers, see AMBR., in *Luc.* 5.62; AUG., *Mor. eccl.* 15. For Aristotle, see ARIST., *Rhet.* 1366b. See also KRAYE (1981), p. 131-132.

*ad eum omnino deducturum, nisi et pium ipse se et illius incompraehensibilis et ineffabilis maiestatis indefessum observatorem cultoremque praestitisset.*⁵⁶

However, when Filelfo does not explicitly reflect on the notion of wisdom, the distinction between *prudencia* and *sapientia* seems to blur. As can be seen in the following quotations on the attitude of ‘the wise man’ from the *Consolatio ad Marcellum*, Filelfo, who is otherwise very precise, now uses the terms *sapiens* and *prudens* interchangeably:

*At nihil debet esse inopinatum sapienti.
Cui nulla est mortis meditatio, is sane neque prudens nec felix esse ullo pacto potest.
Qui uero et tristia et laeta pro ratione apteque tulerit, uir mihi prudentissimus uidetur efferendusque summis laudibus.
Sed uir sapiens nihil unquam desyderet quod sibi contingere posse desperet.
Vt est enim prudentis et magni uiri omnia quae accidere possunt in uita, longe antea meditari seque in omnem casum componere, ita nihil ducere immaturum quod uel natura facit uel ratio aliqua tempestiuum.*⁵⁷

Even Ulysses, the mythological king renowned for his intelligence, is labeled both *sapiens* and *prudens* without further comment:

*Perite igitur sapienterque Homerus locuturus de unius Vlyssis laudibus, quem Graecorum omnium callidissimum et prudentissimum fuisse ostendit, ita secundi carminis principium est aggressus.
ut eadem audeam de te affirmare, quae de strenuo atque sapienti Vlysse illo Homerus poeta finxit.*⁵⁸

Furthermore, the requirements of the genre of consolation compelled Filelfo to contradict his claim that *prudencia* can only be the result of lengthy experience (cf. *supra*).⁵⁹ In his *Consolatio ad Marcellum*, for example, Filelfo had to resort to the consolatory commonplace of praising Marcello’s deceased eight-year-old son Valerio for his exceptional talents for one so young. Filelfo thus praised Valerio’s *innata prudentia*, even though only two paragraphs further down he again presented *prudencia* as the characteristic of “an old man”.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ FILELFO (1483/84), f. 39v.

⁵⁷ *Consolatio ad Marcellum*, 25, 26, 27, 33, 34, 46, 51; my emphasis.

⁵⁸ PhE·18.25, l. 53-55; *Consolatio ad Marcellum*, 137; my emphasis. Also in *Oratio funebris pro S.F. Thodeschino: sapientissimus [...]* Vlysses, FILELFO (1483/84), f. 41v.

⁵⁹ See e.g. PhE·18.25 (the already mentioned letter to the sons of the Florentine banker Palla Strozzi, who died at the age of eighty-nine), l. 39-46: *Quem enim alterum mihi uno Pallante Stroza det quisquam prudentiorem, quem ullo uirtutis genere praestantiorum?* [...] *Hanc uero nisi per multam rerum peritiam assequi non licet. Itaque et longo tempore opus est et rerum in utranque fortunam multiplicium atque uariarum usu ac pertractatione.*

⁶⁰ *Consolatio ad Marcellum*, 9: *In dies augescebat in Valerio cum sensu corporis mentis intelligentia, quam innata quaedam prudentia, quae peritae senectutis est propria,*

In brief, in his consolatory writings on bereavement, Filelfo reiterated his general beliefs on 'wisdom' when he reflected on the concept: *sapientia*, the true wisdom of divine and eternal things, enjoys a higher status than *scientia*, the knowledge of worldly and temporal things, and should find its completion in a moral and just active life, which is the object of *prudentia*. In practice, however, Filelfo did not deem it always necessary to make a rigorous distinction between *sapientia* and *prudentia*, and presented the latter as a sign either of a person's innate talent or as the result of long experience, depending on what suited his purpose best. He did not develop new philosophical ideas, but described and critically evaluated the classical sources. Furthermore, he sided with neither the Platonists nor the Aristotelians, but instead attempted to combine both philosophers' ideas with the Christian doctrine.

3. Recycling: knowledge

The passages discussed above seem to indicate that Filelfo attached little importance to the education of the deceased or bereaved in his consolatory writings. Knowledge as *scientia* is seemingly absent and, as has already been mentioned, *prudentia* is more than once presented as an innate virtue. It is true that Filelfo does not comment on the deceased or bereaved person's education. When he commends the dead or the addressees for their 'wisdom', he praises their general wisdom or their prudence, not their studies or their erudition.⁶¹ However,

miro quodam incremento comitabatur. Also Consolatio ad Marcellum, 26: Delectabat te plurimum ingenita eius prudentia et bonarum artium studium ac facundia singularis, et eius caritatem atque pietatem obliuisci non potes. Consolatio ad Marcellum, 11: erant enim omnia prudentis senis, non pueri uerba.

⁶¹ In his panegyric on the deceased Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, for example, Filelfo does not discuss the latter's education, but refers back to his childhood, interpreting the talents of the eleven-year-old boy as a sign of his later greatness, *Oratio parentalis*, 100-106: *Qui cum in omni probitatis genere nemini aequalium cederet, intra undecimum aetatis annum tantam est laudem assecutus. [...] Nam erat Franciscus – nondum enim a paterno cognomine Sphortia uocabatur – ad ingenii splendorem indolisque praestantiam iis uirtutibus praeditus, quibus supra aetatem admirandus apud omnes uideretur*, DE KEYSER (2015a), p. 246; Cf. *Consolatio ad Marcellum*, 9-11, in which the eight-year-old Valerio is praised in similar terms. For the use of *prudentia* in Filelfo's consolatory writings, see e.g. PhE·17.19, l. 8; PhE·18.25, l. 39-41; PhE·28.01, l. 47; PhE·31.16, l. 5-6; PhE·31.43, l. 11; PhE·33.01, l. 50; PhE·36.04, l. 35; PhE·36.10, l. 74-75; PhE·43.13, l. 33-34; *Consolatio ad Marcellum*, 5, 7, 9, 18, 19, 26, 137, 138, 140, 151, 154, 163, 164, 166; *Psychagogia* 3.3, v. 23, CORTASSA / MALTESE (1997), p. 114; *Oratio parentalis*, l. 11, 276, 318, 397, 400, 498, 508, 567, 646, 654, 682, 825, 905, 1030, 1060, 1584, DE KEYSER (2015a), p. 247, 251, 255, 256, 259, 261, 264, 265, 269, 272, 276, 277, 295; *Oratio in funere Bl. Mariae*, FILELFO (1483/84), f. 28v, 30v; *Oratio funebris pro S.F. Thodeschino*, FILELFO (1483/84), f. 39v. For *sapientia*: PhE·11.55, l. 7; PhE·15.07, l. 3; PhE·17.02, l. 2; PhE·18.25, l. 7; PhE·28.01, l. 3; PhE·30.36, l. 26; PhE·31.16, l. 9; PhE·33.01, l. 48-49; PhE·36.04, l. 3; PhE·36.10, l. 4, 34; PhE·38.23,

Filelfo, eager to portray himself as an intellectual, greatly valued erudition and learning. He was extremely proud of his knowledge of Latin and Greek language and literature, and liked to display his learning in all his writings. In fact, as Hankins rightly remarks, and as we have observed before, Filelfo believed that “the learned philosopher [...] had the best chance of acquiring true wisdom since he alone was capable of collating together the many opinions of the philosophers and plucking the thread of truth that was woven through them all”.⁶² Although not explicitly expressed, Filelfo’s appreciation for learning can easily be discovered by reading between the lines.

As has been said, Filelfo was a very prolific writer and recycled much of his material throughout his career. However, none of his consolatory writings are identical. Obviously, fixed consolatory ingredients, such as the exhortation to set grief aside, are present in all of them, but apart from those recurrent features, Filelfo was clearly capable of personalizing each letter, oration, and poem, combining those consolatory, philosophical, and ethical arguments he deemed more fitting. He was well acquainted with the repertoire of consolatory *topoi* and arguments, and when selecting from them, kept the addressee’s education and learning in mind. For example, the letter Filelfo wrote to Ludovico III Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua, to console him on the death of his daughter Dorotea, is very philosophical in nature.⁶³ After referring to Gonzaga’s much-praised wisdom,⁶⁴ Filelfo immediately discusses the inevitability of death and the immortality of the soul. He gives some classical examples of fathers who bore the loss of their sons with equanimity, whose stories, Filelfo is sure, Gonzaga has certainly read.⁶⁵ He praises Dorotea and then argues that we should not oppose the will of God and that through her death Dorotea was liberated from the troubles of earthly life. The use of the impersonal passive voice and third person, as well as the generalizing first person plural, give the letter a very philosophical and omniscient feel. Filelfo was well aware of Gonzaga’s cultural education and

l. 16; PhE·42.13, l. 9; *Consolatio ad Marcellum*, 138, 156; *Oratio parentalis*, l. 1, 160, 445, 876, 980, 997, 1002, 1037, 1091, 1271, 1046, 1445, 1532, DE KEYSER (2015a), p. 243, 248, 257, 271, 274, 275, 276, 278, 284, 288, 290, 293; *Oratio in funere Bl. Mariae*, FILELFO (1483/84), f. 29r; *Oratio funebris pro S.F. Thodeschino*, FILELFO (1483/84), f. 39v. For women and children, Filelfo only uses *prudencia* / *prudens*, see e.g. *Consolatio ad Marcellum*, 7 (child), 163 (woman); *Oratio parentalis*, l. 318 (child), 508, 1584 (woman), DE KEYSER (2015a), p. 253, 259, 295; *Oratio in funere Bl. Mariae* (woman), FILELFO (1483/84), f. 30v.

⁶² HANKINS (1990), p. 92-93. See also BIANCA (1986), p. 227.

⁶³ PhE·28.01, dated 26 May 1467.

⁶⁴ PhE·28.01, l. 2-3: *magnitudo animi tui singularisque sapientia, Lodouice Gonzaga, princeps excellentissime*.

⁶⁵ PhE·28.01, l. 18-20: *Scio te legisse iam saepe quanta cum animi moderatione et grauitate Solon, Anaxagoras, Xenophon alique non nulli et magni uiri et sapientes tulerint obitum filiorum*.

interest in the *studia humanitatis*,⁶⁶ and therefore considered a consolatory letter of a high intellectual level appropriate.

Two other illustrations of Filelfo's perfect assessment of the high cultural education of his addressee are his Latin letter of consolation to the sons of the deceased Palla Strozzi (cf. supra), and his Greek letter to John Argyropoulos on the demise of the latter's son.⁶⁷ The letter to Onofrio and Gianfrancesco Strozzi, two sons of the rich and erudite Florentine banker and politician,⁶⁸ is long and packed with quotations from Aristotle, the Stoics, Homer, and the Bible, as well as reflections on the inevitability of death, the immortality of the soul, the importance of equanimity, the definition of wisdom, etc. In fact, Filelfo explicitly comments on Palla Strozzi's knowledge of ancient literature and philosophy.⁶⁹ The letter to Giovanni Argiropulo, a Greek émigré scholar, teacher of Greek philosophy, and a friend of Filelfo's,⁷⁰ on the other hand, is brief. Filelfo urges his friend to be grateful to God and to accept his will. He includes three quotations from Homer for the pleasure of the Greek intellectual and adds: "You, a wise man, know these verses and understand these words, so you do not need any consolation. Enough".⁷¹

Two final examples of how Filelfo accommodated his consolations to the schooling of his addressees are his letters of consolation to Lazzaro Tedaldi da Piacenza⁷² and to his son Senofonte,⁷³ who had both lost a son. Since Tedaldi was a physician at the court of Galleazzo Maria Sforza,⁷⁴ Filelfo – in the tradition of the consoler as *medicus animorum*⁷⁵ – used medical terminology to express consolatory ideas. In describing Tedaldi's loss, Filelfo resorts to the metaphor of the wound.⁷⁶ To explain the immortality of the soul, Filelfo focuses on the separation of body and soul (rather than on the soul itself) and uses a somewhat surgical vocabulary (*abscidere, auellere*). When Filelfo broaches the

⁶⁶ Gonzaga studied in the renowned school of Vittorino da Feltre, the *Ca' Zoiosa* or *Casa Giocosa*. See KOHL (1988), p. 15-17; LAZZARINI (2006), par. 1-2. On Feltre and his school, see GARIN (1958), p. 505-718, (1968), p. 131-135.

⁶⁷ PhE.30.36 (Φ.082), dated 22 June 1469.

⁶⁸ Strozzi was fond of Latin and Greek literature, knew both languages, and was a patron of the arts. See REICHENBACH (1936).

⁶⁹ PhE.18.25, l. 66-68: *Quid enim de incredibili poeneque diuina illius summi uiri sapientia uerba faciam, qui Latine Graeceque doctissimus ita in studiis sapientiae dies noctisque consumebat, ut eruditissimo philosopho nulli cederet?*

⁷⁰ BIGI (1962).

⁷¹ PhE.30.36 (Φ.082), l. 26-27: Ταῦτα μὲν τοίνυν σὺ, σοφὸς ὢν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα διανοούμενος, οὐ χρήσῃ παραμυθίᾳ. Εἴεν. Translation by De Keyser.

⁷² PhE.34.20, dated 9 November 1471.

⁷³ PhE.23.23, dated 26 October 1464.

⁷⁴ LUBKIN (1994), p. 130; SOMAINI (1997), p. 21.

⁷⁵ See e.g. JOHANN (1968), p. 36-40; MCCLURE (1991), p. 18, 31-32.

⁷⁶ PhE.34.20, l. 12-14: *Si paulo interius unguis succidatur, non facere possumus quin doloris pungamur aculeo.*

consolatory *topos* that death liberates us from the miseries of life, he elaborates on the liberty of doctors.⁷⁷ In a further medical digression, Filelfo touches on the importance of good health, a topic he does not raise in any of his other consolations.⁷⁸ In his letter to his son, however, we see Filelfo only as the admonishing father: since Senofonte's son, Florio, is in fact fortunate to be with God now, Senofonte should be careful not to give the impression that he is lamenting his own fate. Apparently, Filelfo did not think it worth his while to spend time on a more sophisticated or philosophical writing for his certainly educated, but not very talented son.⁷⁹

4. Conclusion

Filelfo's consolations on bereavement shed further light on the author's interpretation of the interrelated notions of 'reason', 'wisdom', and 'knowledge'. Since the concepts in these writings are embedded in the specific context of loss and bereavement, the consolations provide an indispensable addition to Filelfo's theoretical statements in his treatises and philosophical letters.

More significantly, these observations offer new insights into the author's *modus operandi*, based as they are on an examination of a specific topic in a wide range of writings. A first example of this is Filelfo's attitude to grief and reason. Filelfo was both eclectic and syncretistic, selecting and reconciling different philosophical doctrines. He combined the (Peripatetic) understanding for the expression of emotions (shared by other humanists) with the (more Stoic) exhortation to rationality (unlike many of his predecessors and contemporaries). Second, Filelfo's presentation of the notion of 'wisdom' is a mixture of Platonic, Aristotelian, and Christian (Augustinian) ideas: *sapientia* (the true wisdom of divine and eternal things) is superior to *scientia* (the knowledge of worldly and temporal things) and finds its completion in *prudencia* (a moral and righteous active life). In his theoretical writings as well as in his consolatory writings, Filelfo referred to and cited from contradicting sources and combined them. However, when he did not explicitly reflect on the concept of 'wisdom', Filelfo sometimes overlooked his own theoretical ideas. Third, although Filelfo presented 'knowledge' as an inferior form of wisdom in his theoretical reflections, a closer look at the arguments in his consolations reveals that he greatly valued learning, displaying his own erudition and adapting every letter, poem, and oration to the education and knowledge of each addressee. He did not simply repeat himself, but deliberately used one argument or another.

⁷⁷ PhE.34.20, l. 33-46.

⁷⁸ PhE.34.20, l. 59-64: *optimum autem bonam ualeitudinem; [...] Sine bona uero ualeitudine quid nobis boni esse in uita possit, non intelligo, cum ob aegrotationem etiam ita interdum ab omni honesta actione aliqui cogantur cessare, ut pro mortuis habeantur.*

⁷⁹ PIGNATTI (1997).

In short, the way in which Filelfo produced “customized” consolations provides an instructive example of how he was able to become such a prolific writer generally: not only did he cherry-pick elements from his sources, he also applied the same technique to his own material. From his supply of consolatory arguments, he continually combined what he thought appropriate to the circumstances.

KULeuven.

Ide FRANÇOIS.

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Women Chattering about a Ritual: Plautus' *Poenulus* in the light of Theocritus (*Id.* XV), Herondas (*Mim.* IV) and Aristophanes (*Thesm.*)

1. Introduction

In *Poenulus*, Adelphasium and Anterastilis, two *meretrices*, who are also sisters, appear on stage twice: in scene I.ii (lines 210-409) and in scene V.ii (lines 1174-1279). In the first scene, they are headed towards the off-stage temple of Venus, where the celebration of the Aphrodisia takes place, and in the second they return from the temple and narrate what they have seen.

It has been argued in the past that Plautus did not borrow scene I.ii from Alexis' *Καρχηδόνιος* (which is considered to be the model for *Poenulus*¹) but from a different Greek play.² The hypothesis that a second Greek play was used in the composition of the particular scene has been contested by other scholars, some of whom show that there is coherence in the delineation of the contrasting characters of the two girls in their two appearances on stage³ and incidentally it has been observed that consistency in the construction of the acts of the play is achieved through linking elements such as the Aphrodisia festival which appears in the background.⁴ Besides this, there have been studies which analyze the character of the two women in detail and from different angles, to which I shall refer later in my paper.

¹ For Alexis' *Καρχηδόνιος* as a possible model for *Poenulus*, cf. ARNOTT (1959, 2004).

² The unity of *Poenulus* in general has been questioned and various views have been proposed about the origin of certain scenes; cf., for instance, the discussion of earlier bibliography by SCHANZ / HOSIUS (1927⁴), p. 69, and LOWE (1988). Regarding the scene under consideration, FRAENKEL (1922), p. 262-278 in particular assumes that it is Plautus' sole importation from a second Greek original; he also adds: "Nun hat sich uns herausgestellt, daß Plautus nur die Szene I2 als Ganzes in den *Καρχηδόνιος* [*Poenulus*] eingelegt und dabei, abgesehen von der Umnennung der Personen, nichts getan hat um die Einlage mit dem übrigen Drama in Einklang zu bringen, vielmehr ihre Besonderheiten unverändert beibehalten hat". Cf. MAURACH (1975), p. 229-231, who maintains that, if this scene derives from a second Greek source, it has replaced a scene from the Greek *Καρχηδόνιος* in which girls were also on their way to the temple.

³ Cf. LOWE (1988), p. 103. WEBSTER (1950), p. 136 notes in passing that "the girls must go to the temple in order that they may later return from it".

⁴ Cf. ARNOTT (2004), p. 64.

In this paper, I do not intend to touch upon the issue of *Quellenforschung*, but to show the unity of the two appearances of the girls from a different perspective. I shall maintain that, even though Plautus places them far apart – in scenes at the beginning and at the end of the comedy – their appearances belong to two *consecutive sequences* of the same event, i.e. the women's attendance at a religious place and their conversation, or rather their chattering, about things relating to the ceremony. Such an event is the subject of Theocritus' *Idyll* XV entitled *Συρακώσiai ἢ Ἀδωνιάζουσai*, with which I shall mainly compare the two scenes of the Latin play. In this idyll, women visit the Palace of Ptolemy Philadelphus in Alexandria, Egypt, to watch the Adonia.

The women's chattering about a ritual is a favorite subject of literature during the Hellenistic period, and especially of mime: in addition to Theocritus, Herondas' *Mimiamb* IV entitled *Ἀσκληπιῶ ἀνατίθεισαι καὶ θυσιάζουσai* describes women's dedication and sacrifice to the god Asklepios in the Asklepieion of Cos to thank him for curing an illness. Even earlier, the narration of festival events is found in *Θεωροί* by Epicharmus (who probably influenced Greek comedy to adopt this motif), and in Sophron's *Θάμεναι τὰ Ἴσθμια* and perhaps *Νυμφόπνοος*.⁵ The fact that nothing analogous has been preserved in a New Comedy play is probably down to chance, but, even in plays of this genre, women's ceremonies are mentioned, Aphrodisia being one of them.⁶ Already in Old Comedy and more specifically in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae* there is a description of a 'woman's' preparation to attend the Thesmophoria festival in Athens – although it is actually a man dressed up as woman. While discussing *Poenulus*, I shall also occasionally mention these two preserved, parallel cases: Herondas and Aristophanes.⁷

There are a great many differences between the poetic texts to be compared: they represent dissimilar eras and societies, do not employ the same language and meters, are defined by dissimilar performance conditions,⁸ express diverse perspectives of the events which they enact, belong to different literary genres

⁵ Cf. WÜST (1932), col. 1735. Cf. HEADLAM / KNOX (1922), p. xliv, who also cite evidence from tragedy of this motif, i.e. Euripides *Ion* and *Hypsipyle*, fr. 764, and Aeschylus' *Θεωροί ἢ Ἴσθμιασταί*.

⁶ The word "Aphrodisia" appears in Alexis' comedy *Φιλοῦσα*, fr. 253, K II 389 (255 K.-A.), cf. ARNOTT (1959), p. 255. A more extensive reference to the Adonia festival is found in Menander's *Σαμία* (lines 35-50), which describes the participation of women; seven poets of the fourth and fifth century B.C. composed comedies with the title *Ἀδωνις* or *Ἀδωνιάζουσai*, cf. LAMBERT (2001), p. 89. In Menander's comedies *Ἐπιτρέποντες* and *Κιθαριστής* there is reference to *Ταυροπόλια* and *Δειπνοφορία* respectively, cf. LAMBERT (2001), p. 90-91. For a metatheatrical approach to the Aphrodisia festival in *Poenulus* see FRANGOULIDIS (2018).

⁷ The text of *Poenulus* is quoted from LINDSAY (1905), the text of Theocritus from GOW (1958²), and the text of Herondas from CUNNINGHAM (1987).

⁸ *Idyll* XV, as well as the other urban mimes by Theocritus, is, according to PANAYOTAKIS (2014), p. 379, "a form of high literature with staging potential".

(Old Comedy, idyll, mime – in this case an urban “mime” –, Roman Comedy, etc.). However, there are also many thematic similarities between these texts which belong to the same broader comic tradition. For instance, in the three poetic texts, there are two women who as main characters participate in a ceremony and exchange their opinion about it; moreover, they are usually friends (Praxinoa and Gorgo in Theocritus, Kynno and Kokkale in Herondas⁹).

A further aim of this paper is consequently to show that Plautus is following a comic tradition in his description of women’s chattering about a ritual. It is possible that Plautus took his inspiration from a New Comedy play¹⁰ or a mime, although the presence of two women gossiping points rather to a mime with fewer characters than to a comedy.¹¹ Plautus’ connection with Herondas or Theocritus, however, has not been traced by scholars, with the exception of a few brief notes.¹² Specifically, while Theocritus’ idyll has often been compared to Herondas’ mimiamb, especially in reference to the *ecphraseis* employed by

⁹ The distribution of lines to the characters in Herondas’ mimiamb is uncertain, but the characterization of the two women is consistent if it is always the same woman (Kokkale) who enthusiastically expresses her admiration for the artifacts in the sanctuary, and the other (Kynno) who each time explains the depictions on the displays and guides the first woman inside the sanctuary to show her something even more beautiful; cf. MASTROMARCO (1984), p. 39–40.

¹⁰ LEO (1912²), p. 173–174 recalls a few titles of New Comedy plays which allude to festivals to which *meretrices* would go, and observes the following: “ein Hetärenpaar oder Hetäre mit Dienerin, mit dem Schmuck beschäftigt oder von der Toilette commend, wird in diesen Stücken in der Regel aufgetreten sein”. The same scholar who supports *contaminatio* in *Poenulus*, adds: “Plautus hat vermutlich aus mehreren Stücken der Art, die ihm vorlagen, eins auswählen können, dessen Stoff zu den Ἀφροδισιάζουσαι im Καρχηδόνιος [*Poenulus*] am besten paßte”.

¹¹ As we shall see later, after a while the women in *Poenulus* get to discuss things with male characters but, when they chatter about the festival – something which happens for quite some time – they talk only to each other unmindful of the other characters who spy on them. In Menander’s Συναριστῶσαι the women who take their breakfast and chatter are three in number.

¹² REICH (1903), p. 536 has stated that Plautus’ *cantica* recall the lyric mimes. HUNTER (1996), p. 112–113 traces just a few similarities between *Idyll* XIV and Plautus’ *Mercator* or between the same idyll and Menander’s Ἡρώς or Plautus’ *Persa*. In regard to the latter case, he observes: “By themselves these parallels are no more than suggestive, but the cumulative case for comic influence is a strong one”. For general associations between Plautus and Greek mime, cf. e.g. HUNTER (1985), p. 20; MARSHALL (2006), p. 7. The idea of a jealous lady in *Casina* may also derive from a mime, cf. PHILIPPIDES (2015), p. 256–257. There is, of course, the possibility that Plautus might have been influenced by early Roman mimes about which, however, we have no information; we only know about Roman mimes later than Plautus. HUNTER (1995), p. 162–163 compares Herondas and Plautus in terms of the distortion each brings to the comic tradition of Middle and New Comedy: “As Herondas assimilates comic material to the ‘lower’ milieu of mime and iambus, so Plautus often assimilates the plots and characters of his Greek originals to the ‘lower’ milieu of Atellan farce”.

both of them,¹³ Plautus' play has not been correlated with these Greek poetic texts. It is reasonable to assume that, in the Hellenistic era, the writers of comedy or mime took pleasure in depicting women gossiping as girl-friends not only about sacred events, but also about love, sex, family matters, etc.¹⁴ *Palliata* possibly drew these favorite topics from Middle or New Comedy or perhaps even mimes.¹⁵

However, irrespective of the source of Plautus' inspiration, of greater importance is that he describes aspects of the same event – the preparation for a festival and the visit to it – which he incorporates organically into his play, adjusting them each time to the meaning he wants to express. Obviously the Roman playwright revised his borrowed material, but still he created something with basic, easily recognizable characteristics which already existed in the Greek comic tradition. Consequently, should he have indeed borrowed scene I.ii from a second Greek model, this means that he also borrowed scene V.iv from the same model, or in any case that he integrated the first scene into his play in an orderly manner, writing the latter and connecting it with the first.

2. *Poenulus*: a comparison with the three Greek poetic texts

Let us begin our analysis with a few words about Aphrodite's temple, the festival in her honor, and the two girls. The plot is enacted in Calydon, where the temple is located. The girls are *pseudo-meretrices*, abducted as children from their native land Carchedon, sold to a pimp and brought by him to Calydon where Aphrodisia takes place. They are still virgins who, after attending the festival, will officially be able to exercise the profession of the *meretrix*. As noted by Galinsky, even if Plautus took the specific festival from a Greek play,

¹³ Cf., for example, GOLDHILL (1994) who also views the *ecphraseis* of the idyll and the mimiamb within the broader frame of Hellenistic poetry, which includes the *ecphrastic* epigrams, about which he characteristically notes the following: "As these poems outline a range of response to art, so they articulate and define the parameters of the process of viewing: writing about viewing art is to engage in the construction of the viewing subject".

¹⁴ This is easily discernible in Herondas' mimiambs. We should also bear in mind the women's mimes by Sophron, which preceded them. Actually, according to the scholia on Theocritus, the poet composed *Idyll* XV after Sophron's mime *Θάμεναι τὰ Ἴσθμια* (*Σ Arg.* p. 305, 7 Wendel).

¹⁵ Cf., for instance, the discussion between Selenium, Gymnasium and the *lena* in *Cistellaria* (probably modelled after an analogous scene from Menander's *Συναριστῶσαι*) or the dialogue of Philematium and the *lena* in *Mostellaria*, which to my opinion has thematic similarities with Herondas' first mimiamb entitled *Προκυκλὶς ἢ Μαστροπός*: in both cases, a procuress attempts to persuade a woman, faithful to a man, to pursue another, rich lover while she is still young and her looks are still attractive, and not to count on the futile promises of her current lover; her attempt is unsuccessful and the procuress is threatened with punishment either by whipping (*Mostellaria*) or expulsion from the house (first mimiamb), and so she retreats.

he adapted it to Roman realities, otherwise it would have been unintelligible to his audience; he explains that, in Plautus' days, Venus Erycina was celebrated by married women but during the same period the cult of the Sicilian Venus celebrated by the *meretrices* was also revived; he implies that Adelphasium, the more serious of the two sisters, represents the first cult, while the scatterbrained Anterastilis is better suited to the second.¹⁶ Yet, in the end, the purpose of the Aphrodisia festival in terms of the future of the two women is void since, notably with the goddesses' will, they will be recognized as free women and daughters of Hanno, the play's protagonist, and consequently will not exercise the disreputable profession.¹⁷

Aphrodite's temple is significant to the plot, although it is not represented on stage. It is the place various characters wish to visit or from which they depart to enter the stage. From there, for instance, the pimp comes back after he has offered a sacrifice, the results of which, however, are not favorable to him, in contrast to what happens in the case of the sacrifice of the two girls. This is another sign that Venus, contrary to her quality as the goddess of love and sex, does not help with the initiation of the two sisters into the profession of the *meretrix*. The off-stage location of the temple differentiates *Poenulus* from the previously mentioned Greek poetic texts, in which we have either an interior scene in a sanctuary (Herondas),¹⁸ or combination of an interior and an exterior scene which alternate as the characters are walking: in Theocritus, the two women are first found in the house of one of them (Praxinoa), then on the street to the palace and finally inside the palace itself; in Aristophanes, the disguised man is initially on the street and then enters the temple. The differentiation of the Latin play is due to the *Palliata* practice, according to which indoor scenes are not normally enacted on stage and, even if a temple is represented, the action

¹⁶ GALINSKY (1969), p. 32.

¹⁷ MANUWALD (2004), p. 229-231 argues that Anterastilis, who pursues beauty, is more suited to this profession, whereas her sister, knowing that her lover will eventually liberate her, has a different stance; Venus is the one who will finally protect Anterastilis from officially becoming a *meretrix*.

¹⁸ In reference to the stage for the mimiambo, two different views have been proposed: a) the women are in the entrance of the sanctuary the whole time, cf. the discussion in MASTROMARCO (1984), p. 62-63, who argues that Herondas might have altered the archaeological reality of the Asklepieion in Kos to meet his scenic needs; he imagines that the statues described are visible (to the two women) in the vestibule of the temple, by moving the altar towards it; b) from the altar, the women head towards the doors, which open, enter the front porch (*pronaos*) and ultimately find themselves in the main room of the sanctuary (*naos*), cf. ZANKER (2009), p. 104. In the latter case, a large room of the Asklepieion must be represented on a narrow stage, facilitated by a convention in ancient drama that allows for a long distance to correspond to a short one, as happens, for instance, in Roman Comedy, in the scenes with the *seruus currens*, who supposedly runs and runs while actually moving forward only a few steps while on stage.

involving the temple does not happen inside it but is related to the audience before or after its implementation.¹⁹

Additionally, in Theocritus, we observe the women going to the palace, whereas in Plautus we see them after their visit to the temple. In the Greek poetic works, the women's role is fulfilled as soon as they leave the sacred place. Yet in none of the four is the motif of the visit to the temple fully developed. In Aristophanes and Theocritus, the return from the sacred place is missing; in Herondas, we lack the preparation for the visit to the sanctuary; in Plautus, the women's entrance and stay in the temple are not enacted. The motif is completed piece by piece by the evidence provided by the related poetic texts if considered all together.

Therefore, the girls' references to the Aphrodisia festival are divided between the two aforementioned scenes: before (lines 210-330) and after (lines 1175-1210) the festival. The 845 lines which intervene between the exit and reentrance of the girls cover the dramatic time during which the festival supposedly takes place. What in the Greek poetic texts is seen as continuity is here interrupted by an interval. The first scene, for instance, corresponds to the scenes of the idyll in Praxinoa's house, where she readies herself to join her friend at the feast. Later, inside the Palace, they will watch the Adonia, the death of Adonis, who is miraculously brought back to life after four months, which the queen Arsinoe has undertaken to host in the palace of Ptolemy in Alexandria, on the occasion of the apotheosis of her mother Berenice.²⁰ Actually, Arsinoe celebrates the union of Aphrodite and Adonis and the death of the youth as two consecutive events: the message is that Aphrodite can enjoy the company of Adonis today, because in the morning he will be dead (131-132). Normally, the Adonia festival would last two days, the first of which women would spend lamenting the death of Adonis and the next day rejoicing at his resurrection.

The second scene from *Poenulus* corresponds to the scene in the palace of Theocritus' idyll as well as to the scenes in the Asklepieion of Herondas'

¹⁹ For the indoor scenes in Plautus, cf. LOWE (1995), p. 23-31, who considers them to be additions to the Greek models.

²⁰ The cause for the celebration of the Adonia in the palace is revealed by a singer who delivers a hymn to Adonis. According to HUNTER (1996), p. 132, Arsinoe can be paralleled with Aphrodite, since she is the patron of the Adonia, and thus, she is the one who revives Adonis. Another parallelism can be made: Berenice is described as a mortal, on the breast of whom Aphrodite drops ambrosia, making her immortal, ἀθανάταν ἀπὸ θνατᾶς (106); Adonis is later characterized as ἡμιθέων ... μονώτατος (137), because he is the only one of the demigods who visits both Hades and upper earth. We are told of two "miracles" for which the same goddess – Aphrodite – is responsible: much as she gave immortality to the dead mortal Adonis by bringing him back to earth and turning him into a demigod, likewise she gave immortality to the dead Berenice. Otherwise, it cannot be explained why the poet chose Aphrodite from all the other gods to drop ambrosia to Berenice. In this way, Arsinoe's Adonia are integrated harmoniously into the event of Berenice's apotheosis.

mimiamb; in the latter poetic text, at dawn, Kynno, accompanied by her friend Kokkale and her slave Kydilla, sings a hymn at the altar of Asklepios and other gods sharing it, to thank him for curing an illness. To some degree, the second Plautine scene also corresponds to the one in the Thesmophoria in Aristophanes' play, in which the events represented on stage take place during the second day of the Thesmophoria. In reality, this festival celebrated the generation of crops and the procreation of mankind and lasted three days, from the eleventh to the thirteenth of the month Pyanepsion (October / November).²¹ Aristophanes' parody dominates the plot since, while a few elements of the Thesmophoria do seem to match with real events,²² this festival turns into an *ecclesia* which has Euripides and his negative portrayal of the women as its target; Euripides' advocate is one In-law of his.

It is noteworthy that the three festivals under discussion are exclusively feminine (although the Adonia are also witnessed by men, a man intrudes on the Thesmophoria, and men gaze at the *meretrices* outside the temple). Only in the Asklepieion is it coincidental that the worshippers are women.

Furthermore, in both scenes of the Latin play, the women's chattering is being eavesdropped on by other, male characters, who afterwards reveal themselves to the girls and engage with them in a dialogue – analogous, though to a much lesser degree, to what happens in Theocritus, where a man overhears the heavy, Doric dialect of Praxinoa and Gorgo and rudely criticizes it. This technique of one or more eavesdroppers commenting on other characters' conversation, and in a manner so artful that it does not disrupt the coherence of the latter's dialogue, is usual in Plautus; in the specific case, on the one hand, Agorastocles, the youth who loves Adelphasium, along with his slave Milphio, and on the other hand, the father of the two sisters, along with Agorastocles, have in this way the opportunity to be informed at first hand and beyond any doubt about the true character of the persons they are interested in.²³ The possibility of real sentiments and mentality unfolding is achieved through contrast: Adelphasium is mature and sensible, whereas Anterastilis is coquettish and senseless.²⁴ The men's commenting during the girls' dialogue could be seen as

²¹ For more on this festival, cf., for instance, PARKE (1977), p. 82-88; EVANS (2010), p. 109-114.

²² Yet, the prayers, with their polytheistic references, disclose the intention of the playwright to avoid commenting on the sacred mysteries, cf. PARKE (1977), p. 85.

²³ Cf., for instance, the discussion of Scapha and Philematium in *Mostellaria*, which is constantly interrupted by the asides of the eavesdropper Philolaches, who is later to approach the two women and begin talking to them. In this scene, the true affectionate feelings that the girl has for him are disclosed to Philolaches, through the conflict of values of the corrupted and down-to-earth Scapha and the loyal-to-her-lover Philematium.

²⁴ The two girls remind us, to a small degree of course, of the sisters, one sensible and the other impulsive, from *Sense and Sensibility* by Jane Austen. HENDERSON (1995), p. 15 maintains that Plautus created two siblings in order "to deconstruct the figure of the comic *uirgo*, into the *meretrix* ... and the *filia*".

a kind of chattering in itself, without however exceeding the two-verse limit for each man, in contrast with what happens with the women's *sermones fabulandi*, which both of them, and especially Adelphasium, develop over many lines.

But the close viewing of the girls by men, which differentiates the scenes in *Poenulus* from the Greek poetic texts, is part of a larger thematic motif which runs throughout the specific Latin play: characters eavesdrop on other characters while talking. Thus, in addition to the scenes with the sisters, young Agorastocles spies on the *aduocati*, the witnesses he uses in an intrigue, as well as his slave Collybiscus and the pimp Lycus; the *aduocati* watch Lycus and Collybiscus; Agorastocles' slave Milphio eavesdrops on Lycus' slave Syncerastus; the Carthaginian Hanno, father of the girls, spies on Agorastocles and Milphio, whereas he himself is being eavesdropped on by Milphio and Agorastocles. In a play in which the evidence of the *aduocati* is of great importance to the success of Milphio's ruse against Lycus, leading as it would to Adelphasium's freedom (and even her sister's, since all the pimp's fortune would pass into Agorastocles' hands), Plautus establishes "eavesdropping" as a dominant motif²⁵ and, in terms of our topic, also adjusts the chattering of the women to this motif.

Plautus makes more adjustments to the scenes featuring the girls. He adapts the first scene so that he can make the chattering relevant to the profession of a *meretrix*, whereas he presents the second chattering as being more appropriate to the impending recognition; the festival is similarly adjusted to each cause. Furthermore, since the Roman playwright cannot describe the festival in the temple, he creates a spectacle on stage: on the one hand, the two girls parade unwittingly to the delight of the 'buyer' Agorastocles,²⁶ and on the other, Hanno is playfully presented to them as a potential lover, like those who during the Aphrodisia festival 'examine' with their eyes the *meretrices*, i.e. the merchandise, in order to select which to buy.

The similarity between Greek and Roman characters lies mainly in their eager disposal towards chattering, as will be shown later. Additionally, each writer gives a prominent role to one of the two women. Adelphasium has the upper hand in the conversation with her sister, whereas the impatient Anterasilis keeps pleading, to no avail, for them to hurry to the temple, with Adelphasium finally consenting, only to irritate Agorastocles.²⁷ In Theocritus, although the two women seem equal – in truth, there is a battle for domination between

²⁵ In the same "eavesdropping" spirit, Agorastocles expresses his wish to have had *testis* (971) so that he could demand the freedom of the girls, when he hears that they are compatriots of his from Carchedon.

²⁶ MAURACH (1975), p. 65 assumes that the name 'Agorastocles' is not suitable for this character, since the youth does not engage in a merchant's business (*ἀγορά* meaning "market"). However, this play does deal with human trafficking, especially because of the Aphrodisia, and Agorastocles is interested in buying Adelphasium.

²⁷ Cf. MANUWALD (2004), p. 219-223.

the two of them in relation to the flaunting of their wealth²⁸ – Praxinoa prevails in terms of the number of the lines she is given to utter; she is also seen to interact with more secondary characters than Gorgo does. In Herondas, Kynno has control over every activity in the temple and uses the imperative form in abundance: she orders Kokkale to set the tablet on the right of the statue of Hygeia, and later orders her to see a beautiful artifact, commands her slave Cydilla to fetch the sacristan and, when Cydilla dawdles, angrily repeats the order, reinforcing it with threats; she also commands Kokkale to pause, when the sanctuary's doors have been opened, and finally, before leaving the Asklepieion, brings the attention to Kokkale to cut a little leg off the cockerel and offer it to the sacristan, to place with respect a cake of barley, oil and wine (πέλανον, 91) in the snake's nest and take away what was left. Kynno's commands have consequences on the performance: they determine Kokkale's actions and the motion of the two women in the interior of the sanctuary, and therefore the continuation of the viewing of the artifacts. At the same time, Kynno's orders attempt to define the action of Kydilla, too, although the slave is reluctant to comply with them.

3. *The characters around the two women*

Adelphasium and Anterastilis enter the stage accompanied by a slave girl, an almost mute character who delivers only one line and carries their offerings to Venus. Analogous characters with auxiliary roles appear in the Greek poetic texts. In the Aristophanic comedy, an anonymous slave from Thrace (Θράσσα), who is a mute character, walks alongside the In-law, carries the *πέπλον*, the sacred cake, and places it on the altar in the Thesmophorion. In the mimiamb, Kynno's slave Kydilla carries offerings to Asklepios and also perhaps the cockerel for the sacrifice. In the idyll, Praxinoa's slave Eunoa, and Gorgo's slave Eutychia, as mute characters, escort their mistresses to the palace; Eunoa also hands Praxinoa her shawl (*ἀμπέχρονον*) and parasol (*θολίαν*) while still at home.

The role of the other slaves permits us to surmise with good cause that in Theocritus, too, Eunoa and Eutychia, besides their duty to escort their mistresses outside the house, might also carry offerings, although there is no textual evidence for this additional task. Worthy of note, however, is what happens in terms of the hymn delivered by a singer in the palace. This hymn includes an *ecphrasis*: the depiction in a tapestry of Adonis in Aphrodite's arms, surrounded, among other things, by women's offerings which might be gifts for his wedding with the goddess as well as tokens of grief for his imminent death.

²⁸ Cf. the excellent discussion by WHITEHORNE (1995), especially p. 73. GRIFFITHS (1981), p. 253-254 speaks of the battle of the sexes. BURTON (1995), p. 38-40 observes that through their conversation Praxinoa and Gorgo reestablish an alliance as friends based on their common background, interests and shared complaints about their husbands.

Here, the boundaries between the mythical world and the real world appear to blur, so that on the one hand the offerings made by mortals to honor the demigod are part of the display and, on the other, they allude to the real, rich offerings prepared for Adonis in the palace (to which the two slaves' contributions might be added). Similarly, the silver baskets, the gold vases, and the gold and ebony in general also described by the singer refer implicitly to the real wealth exhibited in the palace and spent lavishly on the Adonia.²⁹ In this light, the singer's remark that the queen, Arsinoe, celebrates Adonis magnificently and generously is best explained; otherwise, the flaunting of riches would be limited to a tapestry and a song, and no matter how beautiful they were – the latter also being part of a singing competition – they would be less impressive if they were the sole royal contribution to the festival.³⁰ The possibility that the baskets and the vases were also depicted on the tapestry is corroborated by the fact that there is no clear textual evidence as to when the description of the love scene with Aphrodite and Adonis begins; this is because all things surrounding Adonis are presented in a series, as if in a catalogue. Furthermore, in Herondas, too, Apelles has drawn the silver tongs so vividly and realistically (lines 56-65) that they would be a temptation for a thief to steal.³¹

That the slaves should carry offerings is a usual obligation for them in Greco-Roman antiquity, and does not occur exclusively in the poetic texts we examine, but it is worthy to see how these slaves are being treated beyond their duty. In both *Poenulus* and the mimiamb, they contribute to the comic effect. The two girls do not interact with the slave: it is Agorastocles who deals with her. As soon as he decides to present himself to the two sisters, he barely condescends to greet the slave; at first he generously salutes his beloved one according to her value in his heart, then offers his second rank greetings to Anterastilis, who

²⁹ An expansion of time and place also occurs when the singer relates the procession of Adonis' effigy at dawn at the seashore, the women's mourning and lamentation. The hearer of the song, the internal (Praxinoa, Gorgo and the crowd of the believers) and the external (reader or spectator) at exactly this point of the delivery, all listen to a sad song delivered by a woman who is in the position of the next morning's mourners (the time of the idyll is midday: Gorgo is anxious to hurry back home so that she does not leave her husband without lunch, ἀνάριστος Διοκλείδας, 147). Thus, the singer describes a lugubrious song, while her song at that moment is equally sad. Cf. GRIFFITHS (1979), p. 26, who observes that the hymn singer "does not restrict herself to the celebration appropriate to the moment, but systematically provides an ecphrasis of the grotto ... and anticipates the rituals of the following day. In other words, her song creates its own setting as real hymns would never have had to do".

³⁰ Gow (1950), p. 298 observes that "the offerings mentioned in 112 ff. are not meant to be wasted, and it is reasonable to conjecture, with Glotz (p. 262 ff.), that they will furnish a meal for a distinguished company when the spectators have departed". There is also the opinion that the offerings are part of the depiction, cf. e.g. GOLDHILL (1994), p. 219-220.

³¹ In the *Iliad*, too, Helen weaves images of Trojans and Achaeans attired in their bronze armor (Γ 125-134).

is secondary to him (*insecundo ... in pretio*, 331) and only then greets the slave-girl, who has no value at all for him (*extra pretium*, 332). In Herondas, using 11 lines (41-51), Kynno reprimands her slave Kydilla for laziness and indifference to her commands, and Kokkale advises her friend not to upset herself because idleness is a characteristic of slaves. Theocritus moves one step further away from these clichés by sketching a more complicated relationship between Praxinoa and her slave. At first, she, too, accuses Eunoa of idleness when she orders her to help her wash her hands; later, however, on the street, she worries about her and advises her to hold Eutychia's hand so that she does not get lost in the crowd.³² With this small detail, the poet also vividly depicts the swarms of people in the streets of Alexandria, which he has emphasized before through Praxinoa's fear of being kicked by the soldiers' horses.

In Theocritus and in Herondas, the women are those with whom the action starts and ends, the protagonists in an autonomous poetic text of preparation³³ or visit to a sacred place; thus, whatever information the audience or reader receives about the identity of the women derives from their conversation, whereas the rest of the additional, secondary characters are vaguely sketched. In Theocritus, with the exception of the hymn singer, who has an important role, there appear Praxinoa's boy (as a mute person), an old woman, a rude and a polite stranger, and in Herondas, the sacristan of the Asklepieion, whereas a crowd of believers emerge in the background of both poetic texts. But, in *Poenu-lus*, both appearances of the girls are embedded in the body of the plot of a larger play, part of which are the scenes that are related to the Aphrodisia festival, a play which features someone else as the protagonist: the Carthaginian, Hanno. Of course, even incorporated in this way, the scenes with the girls have a special unity between them. Moore, while discussing the two sub-plots of the play – that about Milphio's schemes and that about the recognition – observes the following: "Though these women's freedom is the ultimate goal of both plots, they themselves contribute nothing to that end. Instead, their appearances are largely performances for their own sake, as when they discuss the importance of makeup to prostitutes"; the unity and autonomy of the scenes with the girls are stressed by the fact that the sisters sing the single proper *cantica* of the play.³⁴ Except for the pairs of eavesdroppers, in the "minor play" with the girls there appear off-stage a priest and a crowd of *meretrices*, slave-dealers and potential buyers.

³² BURTON (1995), p. 55 explains Praxinoa's change of attitude as a result of her encounter with the polite man, which makes her more humane towards her slave. I believe that Theocritus is simply showing the complexity of human relations and particularly the relationships in the Greek house, members of which are the slaves.

³³ BURTON (1995), p. 16 notes that, in the idyll, the reception scene with Gorgo and Praxinoa in the latter's house, which includes exchange of greetings, seating of visitor, comments on infrequency of visits, and comments on difficulty of travel, has its roots in the epic tradition.

³⁴ Cf. MOORE (2004), p. 145.

As mentioned earlier, the spectacle of the temple and the beautiful *meretrices* turns into a spectacle on stage to the delight of the enamored spectator Agorastocles. The youth reveals to the audience that *Aphrodisia hodie sunt* (191), and while he has every intention of going to the temple because, as he admits: *oculos uolo / meos delectare munditiis meretriciis* (192-193), his exit is cancelled. Milphio calls him over to watch on stage a very pleasant spectacle (*ludos iucundissimos*, 206) and specifically to inspect (*spectare*, 208) Adelphasium who, Agorastocles consents, is *lepidum spectaculum* (209) and the only girl he really wants to see.³⁵ Aristocles' *lepidum* corresponds to the word Gorgo uses in the idyll to characterize the admirable depiction of Aphrodite and Adonis on the tapestry (χαρίεντα, 79).³⁶ Milphio is another admirer of the girls, who, in an attempt to reconcile his young master and Adelphasium, misunderstands the order *expalpa* (357), i.e. "to coax" her, as meaning literally "to stroke" her, and finds the opportunity to repeatedly touch the beautiful *meretrix*, triggering the wrath of Agorastocles.³⁷

All the *meretrices* at the temple will be seen by *mercatores* (340). Anteras-tilis has revealed to the audience that they will be expected by their master Lycus (264), and later, after her visit to the festival, will also disclose that she and her sister were admired by young men (*iuventute*, 1184). Piece by piece, the mosaic of the followers of Aphrodisia is completed: *meretrices* of different financial means, pimps interested in selling for the highest price, young men interested in buying. Adelphasium adds to the list the dirty girls, smeared with cheap odors, who are not touched by free men but filthy slaves.

4. On the way to the temple: chattering about beauty

Adelphasium complains to her sister that, ever since the first light of day, they have not stopped readying themselves for the festival, focusing on a special preparation which she discusses at length: the meticulous and prolonged bath, which demanded the help of two slave-girls and two men to keep fetching water for each of the sisters.³⁸ The text is henceforth corrupt, so we cannot be sure

³⁵ FANTHAM (2004), p. 274 considers all these terms metatheatrical. A similar case of admiration of the beloved person is found in Menander's Δύσκολος (677-678), where Sostratos terms the girl he loves ἀγάλματι οὐ τῷ τυχόντι (an excellent statue). Agorastocles actually identifies Adelphasium with Venus as regards her beauty (275-278) and declares that he wants to worship the girl so that she will be favorable to him with her love (*uenerabor me / ut amet posthac propitia*). Later, Venus is qualified as *propitia* (334-335), thus, the association of the goddess and the girl becomes more obvious.

³⁶ The term *καλός* (beautiful) assesses the artifacts in Herondas.

³⁷ COHEN (1993), p. 194-196.

³⁸ In Terence's *Eunuchus*, Chaerea criticizes the filthiness of the *meretrices*. But in *Mostellaria* Plautus again describes Philematium's bath as taking a long time. The difference is, of course, that here the bath functions as a ritualistic cleansing before the festival.

whether Adelphasium goes on to add the exquisite dressing up. Cleaning with water with the help of a slave and dressing with an expensive garment are also found in Theocritus, where the washing of hands is enacted during a potential performance of the idyll as Eunoia carries soap and helps her mistress to get clean, whereas in the Latin play such an event is narrated to the audience, since it is an internal scene and the bath concerns the full bodies of the *meretrices*.³⁹

The chattering about the extended bath as well as the attraction of potential lovers in *Poenulus* has led many scholars to believe that the girls show no sign that they possess a character appropriate for women who are about to be freed. On the other hand, Adelphasium's insistence on the virtue of moderation does not befit a *meretrix*.⁴⁰ She is also in no rush to get to the festival, unlike her younger sister. Thus, she differentiates herself from the two women of Theocritus who are eager to visit the palace. However, in the idyll, the women are married and free, not slaves who belong to a pimp and whose participation in the Aphrodisia festival will entail the exercise of the profession of a *meretrix*. As happens in Herondas, the girls in Plautus offer a sacrifice and participate in the occasion not as viewers but as integral members of the sacred events. In the mimiamb, however, the women are also married.

Anterastilis feels that their adornment is inferior, but her sister brings her back to her senses, telling her that it is decent, according to their income and that of their master, and moreover it is good nature (*bono ... ingenio*, 301) which is superior to gold and purple, prompting Agorastocles' applauding aside. By contrast, in the idyll, when Gorgo admires Praxinoa's dress, the latter proudly admits that it is very expensive and took a great deal of effort to sew. Curiously, Anterastilis, who embraces the qualities of a *meretrix* far more than her sister does, reminds us of Theocritus' married women who discuss the dress. Consequently, regardless of class, and no matter whether it is a *meretrix* or a respectable married woman speaking, both Theocritus and Plautus, through the chattering of their female characters, want to stress an entirely feminine trait: the vanity and wish for elegance, which transcends social distinctions. A parody of this feminine characteristic is traced in *Thesmophoriazusae*, in the transvestism scene, abundant with sexual innuendos. Euripides shaves the In-law, reassures him that he is beautiful, brings him a mirror, depilates him and dresses him with women's garments.⁴¹ Euripides resembles a girl-friend

³⁹ Nude actresses appeared in Rome only at the end of the performance of mimes, cf. MARSHALL (2006), p. 9.

⁴⁰ JOHNSTON (1980), p. 149-159 sees the two sisters as embodying, in a humoristic manner, the views of Cato (Adelphasium) and Valerius Flaccus (Anterastilis). REI (1995), p. 137-138 observes that Adelphasium is not a schemer like the *meretrices* and also lacks their *blanditia*.

⁴¹ The In-law wears *χροκωτὸν ἱμάτιον, στρόφιον, κεκρύφαλον, μίτρα, ἔγκυκλον, ὑποδήματα*; for the meaning of these words as well as for the staging of this scene, cf. AUSTIN / OLSON (2004), p. 132-137. Cf. also SOMMERSTEIN (1994), p. 172-174.

expressing her opinion to her coquette friend who worries whether the clothes become “her”, provoking of course the laughter of the spectators.

In *Poenulus*, Anterastilis keeps complaining that they ought to have been in the temple before sunlight to put fire on the altar. Adelphasium reprimands her in a comic way: it is the ugly ones who make haste to be there first and awaken “Aphrodite” who, unable to bear their ugliness, then leaves the temple. Following this, the two eavesdroppers approach the girls and Agorastocles attempts to persuade Adelphasium to stop being angry at him, for he tries to find money to buy her freedom. Finally, the youth prompts Adelphasium to proceed to the temple (*I ergo strenue*, 405), meaning exactly the opposite, to hurry back so that she can give him the kiss she promised.⁴²

5. Return from the temple

5.1. Quasi-ecphrasis

When the girls in *Poenulus* reenter, the meter of their song is different from the meter of the *cantica* they sung at their previous appearance and the tone becomes lighter, as they now return joyful from the temple.⁴³ Their discussion temporarily drops the topic of feminine beauty. Adelphasium is still dazzled by the beautiful decorations of the temple (*delubrum ... ornatum*, 1175), the elegant gifts of the *meretrices* (*lepidissima munera*, 1176), which were worthy of the charming Venus, and the quantity of nice things (*copia uenustatum*, 1178) arranged neatly in their place (*in suo quique loco sita munde*, 1178). We came across some of these terms when Agorastocles and Milphio described the two girls as spectacular.

But we also saw that, in Theocritus’ idyll, Gorgo characterizes the depiction of Adonis on the tapestry as *χαρίεντα*, which might include the women’s offerings. Thus, it seems as if Adelphasium makes a sort of *ecphrasis* regarding the “artifacts” she admired in the temple, i.e. the gifts and the decorations. Besides, she begins her narration with an introduction on artistic beauty: today it was worthwhile for anyone who pays attention to loveliness to see the decorated temple (*Fuit hodie operae pretium quouiis qui amabilitati animum adiceret*, 1174). In addition to the admirably ornamented temple, the women’s offerings are equally splendid, worthy of the beautiful Venus herself (*digna diua uenustissima*, 1177), as Theocritus’ tapestry – one could say – was made by the gods (θεῶν περονάματα φασεῖς, 79); actually Adelphasium employs the same adjective, *uenustus*, for both the goddess and the gifts. In Herondas’ mimiamb, too, Kokkale, astonished by the beautiful artifacts, observes that they were chiseled

⁴² For the interpretation of the line in reference to speech act theory, cf. COHEN (1993), p. 199, n. 37.

⁴³ Cf. MOORE (2004), p. 145, 155.

by Athena (ταῦτ' ἐρεῖς Ἀθηναίην / γλύψαι τὰ καλά, 57-58). Since in Plautus we cannot have on stage an interior scene in Venus' temple, Adelphasium's quasi-*ecphrasis* is part of a narration, given in retrospect after the viewing of the "artifacts", not simultaneously at the time of the viewing, as happens in Theocritus and Herondas.⁴⁴ Of course, in *Poenulus*, we do not have a description of specific characteristics of the temple or of the gifts, but only general observations that they were beautiful and neatly placed; however, neither in the *mimiamb* do we have an accurate, detailed description of the figures of the paintings or the statues, except for a few details which attract the attention, and nor in the *idyll* are details given when the two women gaze at the tapestry; it is only the hymn singer who goes into the specifics of the depiction. With the exception of the "wise" (πολύιδρις, 97) hymn-singer, the spectators are always simple women who are not to be expected to offer thorough descriptions.⁴⁵

Adelphasium completes the picture from the temple with the remark that the altars were filled with incense myrrh and every odor (*Arabus, murrinus, omnis odor*, 1179^a),⁴⁶ and with her conclusion that neither Venus' feast nor the shrine was mean (*hau sordere uisust / festu' dies, Venu', nec tuom fanum*, 1179^a-1180). In the *idyll*, too, the palace ceremony was magnificent and the hymn-singer emphasized the fact that Arsinoe celebrated the Adonia with all the honors (πάντεσσι καλοῖς, 111). Adelphasium also adds that the girls who came to the temple to worship Venus were many, similar to the swarms of people who

⁴⁴ Obviously Adelphasium's "*ecphrasis*" differs from the *ecphraseis* in literature in general, which are narrated in the present tense.

⁴⁵ Herondas creates two unsophisticated characters to comment on the artifacts of the Asklepion: one, Kynno, has visited the sanctuary many times; the other, Kokkale, is excited over what she sees for the first time and, full of curiosity, keeps on asking who the artist is and who dedicated the artifacts; Kynno is the expert who, however, attributes to the same donor more than one statue, cf. the discussion in MASTROMARCO (1984), p. 40. Cf. GUTZWILLER (1991), p. 91, who notes that these women are poor and uneducated. ZANKER (2009), p. 127-129 observes that Herondas "invites his audience to fill in material which he avoids actually describing"; he adds that the poet, through Kynno's defense of Apelles' art, who observes that the painter does not make thematic choices but draws whatever catches his eye, comments on Herondas' own choice of subject-matter and characters in his *mimiamb*s. Already KÖRTE (1929), p. 343, 345 suggested that through these women Herondas was giving voice to his own aesthetic theory; cf. GUTZWILLER (1991), p. 239, n. 35. It therefore seems that *Mimiamb* VI is metapoetic and written with this programmatic purpose, and yet it also contains elements of a vivid representation of two friends' outdoor activity, such as the one reflected in other *mimiamb*s by the same poet or in Theocritus' *idyll*.

⁴⁶ Description of objects or people relating to the temple is also offered in Aristophanes by the In-law, in a monologue, where he declares that he will use the dedicated statues (ἀγάλματα, 773) as writing tablets, parodying Palamedes. He also mentions a priestess (758), describes the women's assembly, and in a comical manner imagines the women as drunkards the day before or discovers that what he was holding in his arms was not a baby, but actually a wineskin.

entered Ptolemy's palace (θᾶσαι, Πραξινόα, περὶ τὰς θύρας ὅσος ὁμιλλος, 65) which housed the Adonia festival, or to the crowd in the streets leading to the palace; a crowd, which intrudes in the Asklepieion when the day breaks, is also briefly mentioned in one line in the mimiamb (54), whereas in *Thesmophoria-zusae* there are mentioned women who carry torches, a characterization which applies to the chorus of the play.

Besides the women's offerings, the *ecphrasis* in Theocritus' idyll mostly describes the depiction of Adonis and Aphrodite, and the *ecphrasis* in Herondas' mimiamb relates to statues and drawings. The place of these inanimate artifacts in *Poenulus*' temple is taken mainly by the *meretrices*. From one point of view, these women are the offerings to Venus, i.e. to sex.⁴⁷

Anterastilis does not comment or add anything further to the description of the temple, but brings the discussion back to feminine beauty. This scene is a point of departure from the Greek poetic texts, where both of the women describe the artifacts with admiration, even though it is always one of the two who is mostly impressed. Anterastilis is impressed by her own appearance.

5.2. Recognition in *Poenulus*

Let us now come to a motif which largely appears in the New Comedy and the *Palliata*: the recognition scene, which is also traced in *Poenulus* but is absent from the three Greek poetic texts. Plautus here combines it with the Hellenistic topic of the women's visit to a temple. When Anterastilis boasts that she and her sister surpassed the other girls in beauty, and that they earned the favor of Venus and the young men, Adelphasium claims that they excel in their free descent which demands from them to be pure from guilt (*a culpa castas*, 1185). What guilt? Obviously the vanity and the competitive thoughts which suit a *meretrix*, as soon becomes clear in the text. Thus, Plautus, at this point, invests the visit to the temple with the imminent *anagnorisis*; besides, their father is listening to the girls and he recognizes positive aspects of his character in Adelphasium, and Agorastocles also praises the wisdom of his bride to be. On the other hand, Anterastilis shows no evidence that she possesses *ingenium liberale* or that she loves one specific man who might wish to marry her. However, things are still blurred, the girls have yet to become free, and Adelphasium says that they should try to entice men (*placeant uiris*, 1204), thinking here like a *meretrix*.

Anterastilis adds another element pertaining both to the *anagnorisis* and the visit to the temple: the sacrifice. Sacrifice also appears in Herondas, without being associated with any recognition. Moreover, in the mimiamb, the sacristan himself reads the signs of the sacrifice to the audience, while in *Poenulus* the

⁴⁷ It is noteworthy that, in the mimiamb, a statue of a *meretrix* (lines 35-38) is described by Kokkale as so successful in its representation of the model that someone who has not seen the woman before might form an accurate impression of her looks.

words of the priest are reported by the girls. Thus, Anterastilis narrates that the priest predicted that in a few days they will be set free; also positive was the sacrifice in the Asklepieion.⁴⁸ We can infer that the girls' sacrifice was preceded by a prayer (with which they would beseech Venus for their freedom), as was the custom then and analogous to what happens in Herondas. A prayer is also found in *Thesmophoriazusae*, but there it is parodistic, as the In-law implores the two goddesses (Demeter and Persephone) for his daughter to find a stupid husband and for him to have a safe escape from the festival.⁴⁹ The In-law also makes a parodistic sacrifice of a wineskin, from which he pours wine on the altar instead of blood.⁵⁰

The Aphrodisia festival has a different function in Plautus' play from the sacred ceremonies in the Greek poetic texts. That it is incorporated in the *anagnorisis*, with the result that it loses its sexual purpose regarding the two girls, does not mean that it abolishes all elements of a festival celebrated by *meretrices* only. Thus, initially, the father and his nephew Agorastocles approach the girls and engage in a conversation with them. Before the *anagnorisis* takes place, they do not immediately reveal the girls' true identity and decide to act out a little intrigue. Agorastocles presents Hanno as a person interested in becoming intimate with the girls and Adelphasium, in a state of semi-panic, under the impression that Hanno, being advanced in years, is a would-be lover, exclaims: *hau precor* (1217); we should take these words as "this is not what I prayed for". Here we have the beginning of a series of double entendres, since Carthaginian Hanno is exactly what the sisters prayed for in the temple: the father who will set them free. In the ensuing exchanges, Adelphasium misunderstands what Hanno or Agorastocles say. When the young man reassures Adelphasium that Hanno will do them many good turns, Adelphasium says that they, as good people, will accept them; when Hanno suggests that he will bring them joy (*gaudio*, 1217), Adelphasium is willing along with her sister to bring him sexual pleasure (*uoluptati*, 1217), or when he promises them freedom, she hurries to say that for such a price he will easily make them his (*istoc pretio tuas nos facile feceris*, 1218). In essence, for a brief time, Plautus turned the stage into a slave-market, transferring features related to Venus' temple outside,

⁴⁸ The emphasis of the sacristan on the pleasure taken by the god from the poor sacrifice of a cockerel might seem ironic (cf. HUNTER [1995], p. 158-159), although it can be explained as a human reaction, as joy from the anticipation of his lunch. The sacrifice of a rooster is customary in the cult of Asklepios, as we see from Plato's *Phaidon* (118a5-8), where the dying Socrates asks his students to offer such a sacrifice to the particular god.

⁴⁹ The text is abundant with prayers from the chorus to Demeter and Persephone as well as to other deities, initiated by a herald-woman. While they start in a serious tone, gradually to a greater or lesser degree comical elements intrude on them, necessitated by the plot, which centers on the criticism of Euripides, and generally on the women's attitude towards men; these elements of course did not belong to the real Thesmophoria festival.

⁵⁰ Cf. BOWIE (1993), p. 210.

on the street, without, however, letting the audience forget, not even for a moment, that what they are actually watching is a recognition scene.

6. *Epilogue*

From the above discussion, I hope to have convincingly shown that the two scenes with Adelphasium and Anterastilis are parts of the same comic sequence: some women's preparations for a visit to a temple, the trip from their house to the temple and the narration of their impression of what was going on at that place. No matter what the source of Plautus' inspiration, and regardless of the hypothesis that he might have borrowed only the first scene from a second Greek model, of greater importance is that he incorporated it organically into his play; this first scene is a precondition for us to fully understand the second scene with the girls. The first appearance of the sisters contributes to their characterization as *meretrices* and especially of Adelphasium as being worthy of Agorastocles' feelings, whereas the second appearance is associated with the *anagnorisis* of the girls and especially of Adelphasium as worthy of being the daughter of Hanno, and consequently the future wife of Agorastocles. The Roman playwright could perhaps have eliminated the first scene, putting it in the back story to the play, as has been suggested in the bibliography.⁵¹ However, since he chose to present it in the action, he followed a comic tradition – at least a Greek one – in which women chatter about dressing up, etc., later visit the temple and admire the sacred events and the artifacts there. In a more complete version, this motif is traced in Plautus and Theocritus. However, the comparison of the four poetic texts has also led to individual observations such as, for instance, the quasi-*ecphrasis* in *Poenulus* or the *ecphrasis* which defies the limits of reality and mimesis in the idyll.⁵²

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⁵¹ Cf. LOWE (1988), p. 103.

⁵² I am grateful to Stavros Tsitsiridis for his valuable comments on an earlier draft of this paper, and to Dana F. Sutton for his continuous encouragement. I also thank the anonymous reader of *Latomus* for his / her suggestions.

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Lucio Anneo Seneca e la storiografia sommersa: per l'esegesi di un nuovo testimone di antica tradizione diretta

Introduzione

Canalizzare la ricerca in terreni poco sondati è una scelta, convogliarvi energie e risorse un rischio: recuperare nuovi frammenti della letteratura latina dai papiri è operazione non scontata, può essere scivolosa, ma rivelarsi eccezionale¹. Eccezionale è, per i frammenti latini su papiro, preservare una *subscriptio* che annulli incertezze e circoscriva le ipotesi per l'attribuzione dell'opera, tanto più se quest'opera è altrimenti assente nel panorama letterario trasmesso dal resto della tradizione manoscritta tardoantica e medievale; e quando in questa *subscriptio* sembra leggersi il nome di un *Lucius Annaeus* si ha la sensazione che il rischio di focalizzare le forze su un rotolo inedito debba essere affrontato, calibrando difficoltà ed entusiasmi².

Il *P.Herc.* 1067 è uno dei rotoli latini della biblioteca ercolanese, oggetto della riflessione dei paleografi per la sua elegante capitale e noto, fino a tempi

¹ La ricerca che ha portato a tali risultati è stata finanziata dallo European Research Council (ERC) all'interno del Programma di Ricerca e Innovazione Horizon 2020 (Grant Agreement 636983); ERC-PLATINUM project, Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II (*Papyri and Latin Texts: INsights and Updated Methodologies: Towards a philological, literary, and historical approach to Latin papyri*), del quale sono la *Principal Investigator*.

² A Tiziano Dorandi va il mio più vivo ringraziamento per lo stimolo a portare avanti la ricerca in questa prospettiva: è a lui che devo l'informazione relativa all'inedito archivio di Robert Marichal dove ho trovato, tra gli altri scritti inediti, appunti sull'attribuzione di un papiro latino ercolanese ad un Seneca. Il ricordo di Dorandi – che ha avuto modo di lavorare a stretto contatto con Marichal negli anni Novanta – si è rivelato prezioso: nella primavera 2014, ho avviato i sondaggi sul materiale d'archivio di Marichal all'*École Pratique des Hautes Études*; dopo la prima schedatura di tutto il materiale, alcuni studi preliminari sono stati avviati, come emerge da SCAPPATICCIO (2017). Alla luce di questi studi, si è ritenuto opportuno riprendere lo studio del *P.Herc.* 1067 e se ne è affidata l'*editio princeps* a Valeria PIANO (2017), su cui si fonda questo lavoro. Dall'edizione della Piano ci si discosta per la *mise en page*, che non prevede segni di accettazione e punteggiatura e per l'integrazione di alcune lacune; l'analisi dei frammenti è condotta rispettando il progressivo ordine dei frammenti stessi (tenuta fuori la sezione su *Disiecta membra*), e l'ordine del testo ricostruito non segue quello della numerazione progressiva delle cornici di PIANO (2017); si confronti anche l'Appendice al presente contributo.

recentissimi, per aver trasmesso un'*oratio in Senatu habita ante principem*: gioco della sorte (o semplicemente una confusione tra lastre) ha voluto che la porzione contenente la sua *subscriptio* venisse attribuita ad un altro rotolo latino ercolanese, il *P.Herc.* 1475, *subscriptio* su cui si lesse il nome di un *L. Manlius Torquatus*. Erano gli anni Ottanta dello scorso secolo³.

Non di Lucio Manlio Torquato ma di un Lucio Anneo Seneca, però, è il nome dell'*auctor* dell'opera ricopiata nel *P.Herc.* 1067⁴; non altrimenti noto dalla tradizione manoscritta è il testo trasmesso. Nonostante l'esiguità dei frammenti, l'impronta della narrazione storiografica è immediatamente percepibile nel testo: la possibilità che il Lucio Anneo Seneca sia il Padre sembra radicarsi, così come sembra vivificarsi l'ipotesi che il *P.Herc.* 1067 sia un testimone manoscritto delle sue perdute *Historiae*.

Un *Caesar*, un *Augustus* e *Tiberius* animano la scena narrativa del rotolo⁵: se il *Caesar* può essere Gaio Giulio o un imperatore che col titolo di *Caesar* fosse fregiato, e se *Augustus* può identificare Ottaviano o essere appellativo onorifico di un *princeps* suo successore, la menzione esplicita di Tiberio rappresenta, invece, un parametro cronologico univoco ed un elemento chiave per una possibile esegesi testuale. Ricostruire, d'altro canto, un'opera di impostazione storiografica che abbia attraversato la storia di Roma dalla tarda età repubblicana fino a Tiberio – che, pure, regnò per più di un ventennio e la cui figura si affermò in modo decisivo nella scena politica con l'adozione da parte di Augusto – significherebbe postulare che nel *uolumen* si articolassero le vicende di poco meno di un secolo della storia dell'*Vrbs*: una *historia brevis*, se non *breuiata*. La frammentarietà del *P.Herc.* 1067 impone cautela, e talora sospensione di giudizio; differentemente, però, dai frammenti letterari latini d'Oriente – dove si ha a che fare con porzioni esigue di rotoli o pagine

³ L'unico studio sul testo del *P.Herc.* 1067 è quello di COSTABILE (1984), dove venne avanzata l'ipotesi che il testo fosse quello di un'orazione tenuta dinanzi ad Augusto; la ricostruzione contenutistica di Costabile, però, si fondava sulla lettura sporadica di alcune parole e stringhe del rotolo, senza che ne venisse restituita un'edizione. In tempi più recenti, la posizione di Costabile è stata riproposta da DEL MASTRO (2005), p. 191-192, dove si mette in rilievo lo scambio di cornici su cui si era fondata l'interpretazione precedente. Per un'analitica disamina della questione si veda PIANO (2017), p. 163-165, 178-187, dove si troveranno ulteriori rinvii a studi papirologici e paleografici sul *P.Herc.* 1067.

⁴ L'ipotesi inedita di un *L. Annaeus* formulata da Marichal è stata ripresa e rivitalizzata da PIANO (2016), dove ci si spinge avanti nelle conclusioni attraverso la ricollocazione di un sovrapposto che permette di acquisire un dato in più: che il L. Anneo fosse un Seneca. Con estrema cautela – ma in modo convincente – la lettura della *subscriptio* viene perfezionata in PIANO (2017), p. 241-246, dove, oltre al nome dell'*auctor* viene ricostruito anche il titolo dell'opera stessa, subito sotto il nome: il titolo coinciderebbe con quello che Seneca attribuisce all'opera storiografica del Padre.

⁵ *P.Herc.* 1067 cr. 6 pz. II sov. 1 l. 4: *Caes[a]re*; cr. 2 pz. I sov. 2 l. 2: *A[u]g[us]to*; cr. 5 pz. I sov. 1 l. 3: *Auguste*; cr. 5 pz. II sov. 1 l. 7-8: [- - -]*destinat[- - -]⁸* . *Tiberius*.

frammentarie di codici dall'estensione non ricostruibile⁶ – la consapevolezza che ci si trovi dinanzi ad un rotolo la cui consistenza è stata ricostruita potrà guidare lungo una serie di ricostruzioni esegetiche, seppur ipotetiche allo stato attuale della ricerca.

Il *uolumen* doveva essere lungo più di tredici metri, con colonne di testo di circa trenta righe⁷; non si preserva, però, una sola linea nella sua interezza, ed impossibile è quel computo sticometro che permetterebbe di arrivare a conclusioni verosimili sulla quantità di testo trasmesso dal rotolo. Un parallelismo grossolano con le conclusioni cui si è giunti per i rotoli greci ercolanesi – e con le edizioni definitive, piuttosto che con i brogliacci dove il testo è molto più denso e quasi raddoppiato rispetto al prodotto finale – giustificerebbe l'equivalenza *uolumen*-libro, con un'ormai acclarata unità contenutistica e concettuale⁸.

Quanto dettagliata era la narrazione articolata nel *uolumen* del *P.Herc.* 1067? Si tratta di un'opera condensata in un solo *uolumen*, o di un libro di un'opera più consistente? Accertata la paternità senecana dell'opera, questi interrogativi si riflettono sull'opera storiografica stessa di Seneca Padre, della quale si sa troppo poco per aiutare l'indagine sui frammenti del *P.Herc.* 1067; al contrario, sarà questo – il primo e finora unico testimone manoscritto delle *Historiae ab initio bellorum ciuiliū* – ad aprire (insieme agli interrogativi) una serie di ipotesi esegetiche su un'opera che, benché abbia goduto probabilmente di successo, non ebbe però una fortuna tale da consegnarla alla tradizione manoscritta medievale superstita.

⁶ Per una panoramica sulla letteratura latina nota su papiro si veda SCAPPATICCIO (2012), peraltro in parte superato dalle ricerche in corso del progetto PLATINUM.

⁷ Preziosa ed inoppugnabile è la ricostruzione volumetrica e stratigrafica del *P.Herc.* 1067 di PIANO (2017), punto di partenza per un'affidabile edizione: alla studiosa va il merito di aver applicato, per la prima volta, il principio della ricostruzione reale e virtuale dei rotoli (già sperimentato per i greci da Ercolano) ad un rotolo latino della Villa. Questo lavoro va, di necessità, condotto su tutti gli altri rotoli latini della biblioteca ercolanese, compresi quelli già editi (e.g. il ben noto *Carmen de bello Actiaco* del *P.Herc.* 817), e di questa impresa, grazie anche alla preziosa collaborazione del C.I.S.P.E., si fa ulteriormente promotore il progetto PLATINUM, nel cui ambito è stata promossa e voluta la ricerca di Piano.

⁸ Lo studio di DEL MASTRO (2012) rappresenta un punto nodale nella ricerca sulle ricostruzioni volumetriche e sui calcoli della lunghezza dei *uolumina* e sulla quantità di testo da essi trasmessa. L'indagine di Del Mastro è focalizzata sui soli rotoli greci; dato il pionieristico lavoro di PIANO (2017) sui rotoli latini è auspicabile un approfondimento della ricerca in questa prospettiva. Le conclusioni relative ai *uolumina* greci – per cui un'edizione definitiva vedrebbe articolarsi, in circa dieci metri di papiro, 2.000 *stichoi*, con uno *stichos* oscillante tra le 30 e le 40 lettere; DEL MASTRO (2012) – non possono essere livellate su quelli latini. I *uolumina* latini, infatti, presentano una maggiore ariosità della scrittura che indurrebbe ad un computo differente (e, probabilmente, ad una minore – se non addirittura dimezzata – quantità di testo contenuta nel rotolo).

1. *P.Herc. 1067: la pista tiberiana*

Non sono semplicemente il suo consueto appellativo di *Caesar* ed il parallelo con il predecessore Augusto di cui soffrirono (o si gloriarono) i primi anni del suo impero a rendere plausibile l'ipotesi che Tiberio rappresenti il denominatore comune dei fili narrativi ricostruibili assemblando il testo dei frammenti del *P.Herc. 1067*.

C'è un (pur lacunoso) lemma-chiave nel testo: *prud[en-]*⁹; che si tratti di una forma nominale o aggettivale (per cui si potrebbe propendere se andasse accordata con il precedente *u[i]r*), la *prudencia*, reale o simulata, è dote riconosciuta a Tiberio nella fase iniziale del suo principato. Di *prudencia* Tiberio fece sfoggio nel mostrarsi moderato quando non lo toccava un risentimento personale¹⁰, e soprattutto si era rivelato *prudens* in campo di battaglia fin dai tempi in cui militava negli eserciti di Augusto: significativo è uno dei capitoli iniziali del *bios* svetoniano di Tiberio dove la *prudencia* di Augusto – dote che generalmente non gli viene attribuita, o almeno non gli è propria nella biografia svetoniana – serve ad illuminare quella di cui Tiberio dà prova nei suoi quartieri estivi e che lo stesso Augusto riconosce nella sua epistola al figliastro (21,3; 5)¹¹. Di *prudencia*, inoltre, si parla qualche linea dopo il riferimento alla *prouidentia* (l. 5 *pr[o]uid[en-]*), anch'essa qualità ascritta, a più riprese, a Tiberio¹².

Discorsi ed epistole costituiscono un altro elemento identitario del successore di Augusto e della storiografia che ne ha narrato il regno: il *P.Herc. 1067* è costellato di *uerba dicendi* e di verbi alla prima o alla seconda persona che

⁹ *P.Herc. 1067* cr. 4 pz. I sov. 2 l. 5-7: [- - -]*ç[] pr[o]uid[- - -]⁶ - - -]m n[i]hi[- - -]⁷ - - -]e u[i]r prud[en- - - -]*. Nella *princeps* di PIANO (2017), p. 225, alla l. 5, si propone l'integrazione *pr[o]uid[en-]*, che guiderebbe verso un'esegesi di impronta filosofico-moraleggiante; non si può, però, escludere una forma verbale da *prouideo*, ragione per cui, in questa sede, non si è proposta nessuna integrazione.

¹⁰ TAC., *Ann.* 3,69,5: *atque ille (scil. Tiberius) prudens moderandi, si propria ira non impelleretur, addidit insulam Gyarum immitem et sine cultu hominum esse*; su questo passo cfr. KOESTERMANN (1963), p. 554-555; WOODMAN / MARTIN (1996), p. 470-471. Si confronti anche *Ann.* 4,11,1: *quis enim mediocri prudentia, nedum Tiberius tantis rebus exercitus, inaudito filio exitium offerret, idque sua manu et nullo ad paenitendum regressu?* Per l'esegesi di questa interrogativa retorica ci si allinea con LENAZ (2003), p. 351: alla mediocre *prudencia* altrui si contrappone l'esperienza di Tiberio.

¹¹ Si confrontino anche VELL. 2,111,4; PS. AUR. VICT., *Epit.* 2,3.

¹² E.g. TAC., *Ann.* 4,6,4; 41,2; SVET., *Tib.* 18,1. Con origine comune e parola identica in due diverse grafie (*prouid-* > *proud-* > *prud-*) che, con il tempo, hanno acquisito autonomia e differenziazione, sulle affinità tra *prouidentia* e *prudencia* si veda *ThLL* X 3, col. 2319, l. 7-12 (*s.u. prouidentia*); la *prouidentia* è anche interpretata come espressione della *prudencia* (e.g. CIC., *Inu.* 2,160; MACR., *Somn.* 1,8,7). Si confronti anche *ThLL* X 2, col. 2377, l. 21 – 2382, 3 (*s.u. prudencia*); su come la *prudencia* derivi *ex prouidendo* CIC., *Rep.* 6,1. Un riferimento specifico alla *prouidentia* e alla *prudencia* di Tiberio è in LEVICK (1999), p. 67 e p. 208, n. 36.

introducono ad una dimensione dialogica o epistolare; in un caso come nell'altro, si tratta di elementi non estranei alla narrazione storiografica¹³.

Che la dimensione dialogica del testo del *P.Herc.* 1067 possa, talora, essere ricondotta all'ambiente del Senato non si può escludere in virtù della reiterata menzione di Senato o senatori, o anche di entrambi¹⁴. D'altro canto, la maggior parte dei discorsi che, negli *Annales*, pronuncia Tiberio ha per sede il Senato¹⁵, e la possibilità che Tacito abbia avuto a disposizione per la compilazione della sua narrazione non soltanto gli *acta Senatus* ma anche una raccolta dei discorsi stessi di Tiberio (forse comprendente anche i suoi interventi in Senato) nella loro versione originale (o, almeno, in quella che l'imperatore stesso aveva custodito) è stata a più riprese illustrata e dimostrata a partire da quanto lo storico stesso ha dichiarato¹⁶; questi discorsi di Tiberio, inseriti in *commentarii* o registrati in *acta*, dovettero circolare almeno fino all'età di Domiziano¹⁷. Ad un contesto giudiziario può essere ascritta anche l'occorrenza della forma verbale *notari*, tanto più perché di poco preceduta da un lemma probabilmente ascrivibile

¹³ Per i verbi di dire si vedano *P.Herc.* 1067 cr. 3 pz. I sov. 1 l. 8: *dixit*; cr. 5 pz. I sov. 5 l. 10: *[dixi]*; cr. 5 pz. II sov. 3 l. 3-6: *sub sign[- - -]¹⁴ - - -]ce[. . .]runt . [- - -]¹⁵ - - -]enni[- - -]¹⁶ n]arraba[- . .]m r[- - -]*. Tra le forme verbali alla prima o seconda persona sia singolare che plurale si registrano: *P.Herc.* 1067 cr. 1 pz. I sov. 5 l. 4: *scis*; cr. 3 pz. I sov. 8 col. I l. 9-10: *] . eritis]¹⁰ [- - -]atis*; cr. 5 pz. I sov. 1 l. 1: *nostr[*; cr. 5 pz. I sov. 1 l. 4: *repetam*; l. 7: *Inquar*. C'è anche un *olim* (cr. 3 pz. I sov. 1 l. 6) dal tono squisitamente narrativo; questo avverbio si trova soltanto due linee prima del già menzionato *dixit* e non si può escludere che *olim* rientri nell'argomentazione sviluppata da qualcuno e 'sigillata' dal successivo *dixit*, né è inverosimile che introduca il riferimento ad un episodio sviluppato nell'ambito di un paio di linee.

¹⁴ *P.Herc.* 1067 cr. 2 pz. I sov. 6 l. 9-10: *Senat[- - -]]¹⁰ [- - -]uet[] Sen . [- - -]*; cr. 3 pz. I sov. 3 l. 8: *] Senatu[*.

¹⁵ Da *princeps* Tiberio frequentò certamente – e con diversa intensità – il Senato soltanto tra 14 e 26, prima che si trasferisse da Roma a Capri (da dove intrattenne soltanto rapporti di tipo epistolare). Cfr. MILLER (1968), p. 6, fondamentale per l'analisi del valore che i discorsi di Tiberio assumono nell'economia della prima esade dell'opera storiografica tacitiana e per avvalorare l'ipotesi che fonte per questi discorsi dovettero essere gli stessi originali di Tiberio. Con il Senato Tiberio ebbe un rapporto ambiguo, nonostante i suoi primi anni di regno siano stati caratterizzati da un atteggiamento favorevole verso i senatori; YAVETZ (1999), p. 33-40.

¹⁶ TAC., *Ann.* 1,81,1: *de comitiis consularibus, quae tum primum illo principe ac deinceps fuere, uix quicquam firmare ausim: adeo diuersa non modo apud auctores, sed in ipsius orationibus reperiuntur*, su cui GOODYEAR (1981), p. 185. Si confronti anche SVET., *Tib.* 24,2: *ipsius (scil. Tiberi) uerba sunt*; 28: *extat et sermo eius (scil. Tiberi) in Senatu perciuilis*, su cui RIETRA (1928), p. 22-23; *Tib.* 67,3: *quod sane ex oratione eius (scil. Tiberi), quam de utraque re habuit, colligi potest*. Cfr. MILLER (1968), p. 12-19; sulla *superbia* come carattere distintivo da molti dei discorsi in Senato di Tiberio, BAAR (1990), p. 45.

¹⁷ SVET., *Dom.* 20,1: *praeter commentarios et acta Tiberi Caesaris nihil lectitabat*, su cui GASCOU (1984), p. 455-456. A dei *commentarii* Svetonio allude anche nella vita dello stesso Tiberio: *etsi commentario, quem de uita sua summatim breuiterque composuit, ausus est scribere* (61,1).

alla stessa area semantica¹⁸. Né mancano probabili rinvii a contesti bellici, come quello riconducibile all'area gallica o un più generico riferimento ad un'azione in cui figurerebbero qualcuno incolume e dei nemici¹⁹.

1.1. *Cn[(ae-), I]un(ias) ~ P.Herc. 1067 cr. 1 pz. II sov. 1 l. 3; sov. 2 l. 8*

A meno che non si pensi a *nab]un*, nome che gli Etiopi attribuivano alla giraffa²⁰, o a quella pianta odorosa e dalle proprietà medicali che alcuni chiamavano *ph]un* piuttosto che *nardus*²¹, o, ancora, ad una forma all'accusativo di quel *rhus erythros* (dunque *rh]un*) che identificava una malattia femminile²², un particolare seme o una spezia siriana²³, si ricava un'importante informazione di ordine cronologico attraverso l'integrazione *I]un*, da intendere come forma abbreviata dell'equivalente aggettivale del mese di *Iunius*²⁴. L'unica certezza è che, nel papiro, si tratta della sezione finale di una parola, evidentemente terminante in *jun*²⁵.

¹⁸ *P.Herc. 1067 cr. 1 pz. I sov. 4 l. 2:] . řetā [] řīf [; l. 8: notari*. In apparato PIANO (2017), p. 194 segnala che *] . řetā* possa essere letto *Įčřetā*, nel qual caso si apre una duplice possibilità di integrazione: *se]čřetā* e *de]čřetā*. Sull'uso di *denoto* come verbo-chiave nei discorsi senatoriali di Tiberio nei primi sei libri degli *Annales* cfr. MILLER (1968), p. 15; SYME (1982), p. 73.

¹⁹ *P.Herc. 1067 cr. 4 strato 1 l. 4-6: incolumem [- - -] l⁵ cum hostēs e . . [- - -] l⁶ . lū . . . gerer[.]am [*. Non si può escludere che si intendano nemici degli oppositori politici e che il contesto non sia bellico ma denoti semplicemente una contrapposizione tra parti. Per le numerose sfumature del lemma ci si limita qui a rinviare a *ThLL VI 3*, col. 3055, l. 63 - 3066, 28 (*s.u. hostis*)

²⁰ *ThLL IX 3*, col. 45-49 (*s.u. nabun*). Che *nabun* fosse l'equivalente etiope di *came-loparda* (su cui *ThLL III* col. 201, l. 30-51) è informazione nota attraverso la *Naturalis historia* di Plinio, il quale ricorda anche che ad aver portato per primo a Roma questo animale in occasione dei ludi circensi fosse stato Cesare (8,69). Nonostante l'informazione dello zoonimo sia arricchita di una squisitamente storica e si risalga all'età cesariana, il pur frammentario contesto non sembra rendere questa ipotesi preferibile.

²¹ *ThLL IX* col. 54, l. 3 - 56, 26 (*s.u. nardum/nardus*); PLIN., *Nat.* 12,45; 21,136. Il nardo (né come *nardum/nardus* né come *phun*) non è pianta ricordata nelle fonti storiografiche (e biografiche) relative all'arco cronologico che va da Cesare a Tiberio, tali da poter far risalire a ipotetici contesti paralleli rispetto a questo in analisi.

²² *ThLL V* col. 853, l. 20-25 (*s.u. erythros*); SCRIB. LARG. 121.

²³ Si vedano, ad esempio, PLIN., *Nat.* 1,24; 12,31; 13,55; 24,91; 93; 129; 29,50; APIC. 10,2 e 3.

²⁴ *P.Herc. 1067 cr. 1 pz. II sov. 2 l. 8*; questa integrazione è proposta già in sede di edizione, benché non si possa categoricamente escludere la possibilità che si tratti di una forma abbreviata per *I]un(o)*; *i]un(ior)*; *m]un(icipium)*; *m]un(ere)*; *T]un(gri)*, tutte note dalla documentazione epigrafica raccolta in CAPPELLI (2011⁷), dove, però, non vengono forniti i contesti di appartenenza di queste abbreviature e la datazione delle epigrafi dove sono attestate.

²⁵ Nella *princeps* si sottolinea come le parole non fossero mai spezzate tra una linea e l'altra, ragion per cui, trovandosi questa breve sequenza di lettere prima di uno spazio intercolonnare, si è certi del fatto che la parola dovesse terminare in *-un*.

Scorrere i *Fasti* (*Ostienses* ed *Amiternini*) aiuta, infatti, a ricostruire alcuni possibili eventi focali per la storia dell'*Vrbs* che, tra la metà del I a.C. e la fine dell'età tiberiana, vennero registrati tra l'ultima quindicina del mese di maggio e la prima di giugno. I fatti in questione sono tre: un settimo giorno delle calende di giugno (il 26 maggio) Germanico concluse vittoriosamente la sua missione in Germania²⁶; un quinto delle calende di giugno (il 28 maggio) Druso, figlio di Tiberio, trionfò in Illirico; ed un settimo delle idi di giugno (il 7 giugno) Nerone Cesare, figlio di Germanico, si rivestì della toga virile²⁷. Il primo è un episodio relativo al 17 d.C., i secondi due al 20 d.C.: un arco cronologico piuttosto ristretto che crea ulteriore imbarazzo in un'ipotesi ricostruttiva fondata su un testo tanto frammentario.

A ricordare dell'assunzione della toga virile da parte di Nerone Cesare è il solo Cassio Dione (57,18,11; non c'è, però, allusione alla celebrazione del trionfo di Germanico e all'ovazione di Druso). Tacito registra sia l'episodio di Germanico sia quello di Druso; se, però, chiara è la descrizione dell'ovazione decretata per Druso e la volontà di questo di rinviarla, probabilmente perché non gli sembrava opportuno che il trionfo venisse celebrato a ridosso dei funerali del cugino Germanico (che avrebbe dovuto godere con lui della celebrazione)²⁸, gli *Annales* (3,11,1), diversamente dalla documentazione epigrafica dei *fasti*, tacciono sui tempi in cui effettivamente questa ovazione venne celebrata. Il dettaglio con cui, invece, viene ricordato il trionfo di Germanico su alcune delle popolazioni lungo l'Elba è vistoso, e l'inquadramento cronologico dell'episodio ne apre la descrizione: *C. Caelio L. Pomponio consulibus Germanicus Caesar a.d. VII Kal. Iunias triumphavit de Cheruscis C<h>attisque et Angriuariis quaeque aliae nationes usque ad Albim colunt* (*Ann.* 2,41,2)²⁹. Il rigore della notizia del trionfo di Germanico sembrerebbe meglio collocarsi in parallelo con il *Iun(ias)* del *P.Herc.* 1067; c'è un dato, però, che fa propendere per l'ipotesi che, se il *Iun(ias)* del *P.Herc.* 1067 inquadrasse un episodio altrimenti immortalato nella storia di Roma, questo dovette essere relativo al 20 d.C.

²⁶ *Ost.* Cb s. 21-22 VIDMAN (1982); cfr. EHRENBURG / JONES (1963²), p. 41: [*VII k(alendas) Iun(ias) Germ]anic(us) Caes[ar] [triumphau]t ex German(ia);* sui *Fasti Ostienses* BREHMER (1998). Questa notizia è riportata anche nei *Fasti Amiternini*, EHRENBURG / JONES (1963²), p. 49: [*fer(iae) ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) quod eo die [Germanicus C]aesar [triumphans] inuictus (sic) est [in urbem]*].

²⁷ *Ost.* Ce 38-41 VIDMAN (1982); NICKBAKHT (2005); cfr. EHRENBURG / JONES (1963²), p. 41: *V k(alendas) Iun(ias) Drusus o[uans] triumphavit ex Ill[yr]ico. VII Idus Iun(ias) Nero to[g(am)] sumpsit.* La notizia della vittoria di Druso è confermata dai *Fasti Amiternini*, NICKBAKHT (2005); cfr. EHRENBURG / JONES (1963²), p. 49: [*D V np. Fer(iae) ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) q[uod] eo die [Drusus Caesar ouans urbem inuectus est]*]. Il rigoroso riesame di NICKBAKHT (2005) ha guidato ad una revisione del testo e ad una differente proposta ricostruttiva ed esegetica del trionfo e dell'ovazione di Druso.

²⁸ *TAC., Ann.* 2,64,1, su cui SYME (1982), p. 78-79.

²⁹ Sull'indicazione esatta delle date in Tacito cfr. KOESTERMANN (1941), p. 327-328; GOODYEAR (1981), p. 315.

Nel papiro, infatti, *IJun(ias)* è su un sovrapposto allineato con un altro in cui si legge di uno *Cn[*³⁰: benché non sia esattamente ricostruibile la distanza tra i due sovrapposti, non appartenevano a porzioni testuali lontane. Gli *Cnaei* che animarono la storia tiberiana degli anni 17-20 e sono noti alle fonti non sono molti: Gneo Lentulo (l'Augure), console – impossibile a determinarsi se quello del 14 o del 18 – menzionato a proposito del processo contro Libone, iniziato nel 16 d.C., e di quello per concussione contro il proconsole d'Asia Giunio Silano, del 22 d.C.³¹; Gneo Senzio, ricordato per aver fatto accompagnare fuori da Roma la famosa avvelenatrice Martina (era il 19 d.C.)³²; Gneo Calpurnio Pisone, che scivolò dal favore alla disgrazia e, accusato per il sospetto avvelenamento di Germanico e di alto tradimento, fu vittima di un ben noto processo. Tacito racconta di un processo messo in piedi nella primavera del 20, non lontano dalla celebrazione (rinviata) del trionfo di Druso sull'Illirico; non è questo il luogo in cui discutere del complesso rapporto ricostruibile tra la narrazione degli *Annales* ed il testo epigrafico del *Senatus consultum de Gneo Pisone patre*³³, ma l'ipotesi che lo *Cn[* e *IJun(ias)* possano entrambi essere pertinenti alla narrazione di episodi dell'anno 20 sussiste, tanto più che non si può escludere che l'eventuale racconto del processo contro Pisone potesse essere articolato e che la notizia dell'ovazione del giovane Druso rappresentasse, come in Tacito, soltanto un intermezzo narrativo³⁴.

³⁰ *P.Herc.* 1067 cr. 1 pz. II sov. 1 l. 3. Questo *Cn[(ae-)* sarebbe potuto essere *adg]ressus, ing]ressus* (e simili composti da *-gredior*), *opp]ressus* (e simili composti da *-primo*); né si può escludere che la forma participiale *Igressus* (cr. 1 pz. II sov. 1 l. 4) si riferisse a altri che lo Gneo della linea precedente, tanto più che non è possibile divinare il suo caso.

³¹ TAC., *Ann.* 1,27; 2,32; come osserva LENAZ (2003), p. 1033, non c'è la certezza che lo Gneo Lentulo menzionato sia sempre lo stesso e non si può escludere che si debba pensare all'uno e all'altro console. Viene anche ricordato a 3,68; 4,29; 44 per un'accusa riversata contro di lui nel 24 d.C. e per la sua morte. Si confronti anche SVET., *Tib.* 49.

³² TAC., *Ann.* 2,74; 3,7.

³³ Sul senatoconsulto di Gneo Pisone si veda l'*editio princeps* di CABALLOS / ECK / FERNÁNDEZ (1996) e la versione ampliata in ECK / CABALLOS / FERNÁNDEZ (1996), nonché LEBEK (1999); sul rapporto tra questa fonte documentaria e l'altrettanto nota *Tabula Siarensis* e Tacito cfr. GONZÁLEZ (2002). Le numerose esegesi del differente inquadramento cronologico del processo – aprile negli *Annales*, dicembre nell'epigrafe – sono state sintetizzate da LENAZ (2003), p. 1126-1128.

³⁴ Sul processo e sul suicidio di Pisone si vedano: TAC., *Ann.* 3,1-19; SVET., *Tib.* 52; DIO 57,18,10. Va sottolineato che in Dione la narrazione del processo contro Pisone è particolarmente sintetica e precede immediatamente il ricordo dell'altro episodio del giugno del 20 d.C., l'assunzione della toga virile da parte di Nerone Cesare. Oltre al *IJun(ias)* della l. 7 c'è un'altra parola integralmente leggibile nello stesso frammento: si tratta di un *contentus* (*P.Herc.* 1067 cr. 1 pz. II sov. 2 l. 1), che potrebbe ritrarre lo stato d'animo di un personaggio che si sarebbe spinto o teso verso qualcuno o qualcosa; non va dimenticato che è caratteristica tiberiana in SVET., *Tib.* 18,1 (*semper alias sui arbitrii contentusque se uno*), su cui BAAR (1990), p. 32.

Tutta questa ricostruzione proposta si fonda sul presupposto che la data ricordata da Seneca comparisse anche in altre fonti; di questo, però, non si è assolutamente certi e non si potrà escludere che Seneca fosse fonte di un'altra vicenda svoltasi in qualche altra primavera del principato di Tiberio.

1.2. *Bello Gall[~ P.Herc. 1067 cr. 6 pz. II sov. 1+2 l. 5*

Quanto dettagliata fosse la narrazione storiografica del *P.Herc. 1067* è difficilmente ricostruibile, o probabilmente impossibile a dirsi. A circa un metro e mezzo di distanza dalla sezione in cui si legge il *IJun(ias)* c'è, però, un frammento che lascia intravedere un altro dettaglio narrativo non secondario³⁵: la menzione ravvicinata di un *Caesar*, di un *bellum* e di un *Gall[* non sembrerebbe lasciare dubbi sul fatto che si stia parlando di uno scontro in Gallia e che protagonista di questa azione sarebbe stato un *Caesar*³⁶. L'ipotesi che il *Caesar* sia da identificare con Gaio Giulio si sostiene soltanto immaginando che un'allusione alla missione gallica di Cesare venga inquadrata in un tessuto narrativo di vicende di epoca successiva³⁷; d'altro canto, i riferimenti alla 'guerra' in Gallia che si leggono sfogliando le pagine della letteratura latina sono generalmente legati a contesti narrativi relativi all'età cesariana e mai viene istituito un parallelismo con la storia più recente, anche quando l'episodio storico viene utilizzato come *exemplum*³⁸. Non molto distante dal frammento in questione, poi, si legge l'esplicita menzione di *A[u]g[ust]o*³⁹ che fissa l'arco cronologico in cui la narrazione avrebbe potuto svilupparsi, e che rende ulteriormente impossibile il fatto che si stesse parlando della campagna gallica di Gaio Giulio. Al contrario, il nome di Augusto e la possibile narrazione, nelle sezioni precedenti, di fatti di piena età tiberiana, tra 17 e 20 d.C., guiderebbero a identificare differentemente quel *Caesar*, tanto più che, in piena età del principato (e del primo impero), la campagna di Cesare in Gallia era stata, se non oscurata, almeno superata dalla riorganizzazione della provincia messa in atto da Ottaviano Augusto a partire dal 27 a.C. e fino al 10 a.C., anche con il supporto di Tiberio, e dal ripristino di

³⁵ In PIANO (2017) il frammento di cr. 1 pz. II sov. 2 è seguito da cr. 9 pz. II (con due sovrapposti) e, a circa 130 cm, da cr. 6 pz. II, la porzione testuale in questione.

³⁶ *P.Herc. 1067 cr. 6 pz. II sov. 1+2 l. 4-5:] . Caes[a]re [. .]or[]¹⁵]um[] bello Gall[*; convincente è l'accostamento dei due sovrapposti, benché nella *princeps* questa ricostruzione venga presentata con la necessaria cautela. Il resto del frammento non ha sequenze di lettere tali da poter ricostruire parole.

³⁷ Questa ipotesi è formulata in PIANO (2017), p. 202.

³⁸ E.g.: CIC., *Att.* 1,19,2; *Fam.* 7,18,1; *Prou.* 19; 32; 35-36; 47; QUINT., *Inst.* 3,8,20; SVET., *Iul.* 56,1; 69,1; FRONT., *Ep.* 9 (224, 12 VAN DEN HOUT). Come *exemplum* la missione gallica di Cesare è citata in SEN., *Ben.* 5,15,5. Spesso per ricordare la missione gallica di Gaio Giulio Cesare viene usato il plurale (e.g.: CAES., *Ciu.* 3,59,1).

³⁹ *P.Herc. 1067 cr. 2 pz. I sov. 2 l. 2*; la distanza ricostruita tra questo e quello con l'allusione alla guerra in Gallia è di circa 30 cm in PIANO (2017), p. 175.

una relativa situazione di benessere economico⁴⁰. Leggere, però, nel papiro *Caes[ar]e* può guidare anche verso un'ulteriore ipotesi, e cioè che la missione gallica sia quella voluta da Tiberio nel 21 d.C.: lo spegnersi di una certa floridezza economica messa in piedi da Augusto nell'area delle Gallie determinò una crisi monetaria e una rivolta che, animata da Giulio Floro e Giulio Sacroviro, venne repressa da Tiberio⁴¹. La rivolta in Gallia è descritta nel terzo libro degli *Annales*, dove la narrazione è dettagliata ed articolata, e se ne parla chiaramente in termini di *bellum*⁴².

Se, dunque, l'allusione fosse alle vicende galliche del 21 e se di queste si parlasse come di un *bellum*, il *uolumen* ercolanese sarebbe espressione di un sentimento senatorio e certamente antitiberiano allineato con quello cui darà voce Tacito: l'enfasi di Tacito sulla questione fa da contraltare all'idea che Tiberio volle trasmettere di questa impresa, quella, cioè, di un semplice affare di polizia e di ordine pubblico che non avrebbe meritato gli onori che pure erano stati proposti per l'occasione (*Ann.* 3,47).

Possibile alternativa è che si stia parlando di qualcuna delle tante campagne cui Tiberio partecipò anche come comandante ai tempi di Augusto, tra l'8 a.C. ed il 13 d.C.

1.3. *Jenēam* ~ *P.Herc.* 1067 cr. 2 pz. I sov. 3 col. I l. 5

Benché più di una parola si sia preservata nella sua integrità, i pezzi della seconda cornice del *P.Herc.* 1067 lasciano poco spazio alla ricostruzione dei dettagli narrativi chiave⁴³. A chi si riferisca l'aggettivo *malus* è impossibile a determinarsi⁴⁴, così come impossibile a determinarsi è quale sia la cosa (o la

⁴⁰ Sulle vicende galliche di età augustea cfr. LEWILLON (1975), p. 499-511; URBAN (1999), p. 33-35; mentre sulle imprese affidate a Germanico, cfr. BAAR (1990), p. 116-124; URBAN (1999), p. 36-39. Un contributo importante su Tiberio e la Gallia in età augustea è quello di HEURGON (1948). Si confronti SEN., *Clem.* 1,9,2, dove l'impresa gallica di Augusto viene citata come *exemplum*.

⁴¹ Sulla parabola discendente vissuta dalla Gallia tra Augusto e Tiberio e sulla missione gallica di Tiberio cfr. GRENIER (1936), con ulteriori rinvii bibliografici sulle operazioni romane in Gallia tra principato e prima età imperiale, e, più recentemente, LEVICK (1999), p. 67; URBAN (1999), p. 39-45. BESSONE (1978) si focalizza sulla sollevazione gallica di Floro e Sacroviro; BELLEMORE (2003) costruisce un parallelo contrastivo tra le narrazioni dei fatti del 21 d.C. in Dione e in Tacito. Più in generale sulla politica estera di Tiberio YAVETZ (1999), p. 51-58 (sulla rivolta in Gallia: p. 57-58).

⁴² TAC., *Ann.* 3,40-47, su cui KOESTERMANN (1963), p. 495-508; WOODMAN / MARTIN (1996), p. 327-357; LENAZ (2003), p. 1155-1158. Si confronti e.g. *Ann.* 3,41,3: *consultus super eo Tiberius aspernatus est indicium aluitque dubitatione bellum*. Si veda anche SVET., *Tib.* 49.

⁴³ *P.Herc.* 1067 cr. 2 pz. I sov. 3 col. I l. 2-5: *]s malus]³]rys captam]⁴]lē . . . []]⁵ jenēam*; col. II l. 3: *]frac[t-*.

⁴⁴ *Malus* non è, però, aggettivo lontano dalla sfera d'azione di Tiberio: sull'uso di *malus* a descrivere alcuni dei gesti o degli episodi legati all'imperatore cfr. BAAR (1990),

persona, ma di sesso femminile) catturata (*captam*) o quella *frac[t-*; non soltanto *captam* e *frac[t-* sono troppo distanti perché riguardino uno stesso sostantivo, ma è anche difficile che, in termini bellici, riguardino lo stesso oggetto: *capio* è soprattutto delle città, degli accampamenti, delle vettovalie, qualcosa che si può conquistare e di cui ci si può impossessare, mentre *frango* è proprio delle truppe sconfitte e messe in fuga, per cui sembrerebbe che, da un lato, si parli di un assedio e, dall'altro, di una battaglia campale.

Numerose, invece, sono le possibilità esegetiche di *Jeneam*. Integrare immaginando una voce verbale (e.g.: *tJeneam*; *uJeneam*) implicherebbe un contesto in cui qualcuno parlerebbe alla prima persona (un discorso diretto? una battuta riportata nella narrazione in modo esemplificativo?)⁴⁵; altre due possibilità si aprono, e cioè che si parli di qualcosa di bronzeo (*aJeneam*) o dell'eroe troiano progenitore dei romani (*AJeneam*)⁴⁶.

Interrogare le fonti della storia della prima età tiberiana può permettere qualche ulteriore passo in avanti nell'ipotesi esegetica. Il solo riferimento esplicito a qualcosa di bronzeo è, nella narrazione dionea, ad una statua di Seiano fatta erigere perché fosse collocata nel teatro di Marcello, dove era scoppiato un incendio sedato dallo stesso Seiano, per questo omaggiato nel 23 d.C.⁴⁷; le statue (*statuae* ed *effigies*) che costellano, però, la narrazione tacitiana e la biografia svetoniana per l'età di Augusto e Tiberio sono parecchie, e la materia in cui fossero plasmate era dato non sempre messo in luce⁴⁸. D'altro canto, la menzione di qualcosa di bronzeo non stonerebbe con un contesto bellico, come quello prospettato da *captam* e *frac[t-*.

Quanto, invece, ad Enea, lo si vede sfilare nella *pompa imaginum* allestita in occasione del funerale del giovane Druso: il progenitore della *gens Iulia* sfilava seguito da quello della *gens Claudia*, Atto Clauso, e da tutti gli altri antenati e, in coda, dal feretro⁴⁹. Druso morì nel settembre del 23 d.C., ma la verità sulla

p. 67; si veda e.g.: TAC., *Ann.* 4,67,3: *quanto intentus olim publicas ad curas, tanto occultiores in luxus et malum otium resolutus*. Naturalmente, in riferimento all'imperatore l'aggettivo si colorirebbe di una tonalità anti-tiberiana e la connotazione fortemente negativa potrebbe anche implicare una datazione successiva al principato di Tiberio stesso. In un contesto bellico, però, *malus* poteva essere chiunque altro, e si può persino pensare ad un *dolus malus*, il tipico nemico fraudolento, oltre che colpevole dei reati peggiori.

⁴⁵ Impossibile è pensare ad un *Phajeneam*, principe degli Etoli che rinvierebbe, senza ragione apparente, ad una storia troppo remota (LIV. 35, 45, 2; 5).

⁴⁶ Queste possibilità sono già formulate in PIANO (2017), p. 206.

⁴⁷ DIO 57,21,3: τὸν δὲ δὴ Σεῖανόν ζῶντα ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ χαλκοῦν ἔστησε; si confronti TAC., *Ann.* 3,72: *et censuere patres effigiem Seiano, quae apud theatrum Pompei locaretur*. Dione fa risalire direttamente l'ordine a Tiberio, mentre Tacito al Senato.

⁴⁸ E.g.: TAC., *Ann.* 1,11; 73; 74; 2,61 (*saxea effigies*); 64; 3,5; 36; 4,76; SVET., *Aug.* 13,1; 31,5; 59,1; 70,2; 97,2; *Tib.* 53,2; 58,1. Si tratta delle occorrenze in cui, tra l'età di Augusto e quella di Tiberio, si parla di una sola statua.

⁴⁹ TAC., *Ann.* 4,9,2, su cui KOESTERMANN (1965), p. 63-64; LENAZ (2003), p. 1184-1185; FORMICOLA (2013), p. 117-119. Sulla morte di Druso cfr. EISENHUT (1950);

sua morte emerse soltanto otto anni più tardi attraverso le rivelazioni della prima moglie di Seiano, Apicata⁵⁰; Seiano fu strangolato nell'ottobre del 31 e, a pochi giorni di distanza, i suoi figli furono messi a morte: dinanzi ai corpi dei suoi figli gettati sulle Gemonie, Apicata scrisse una lettera di denuncia raccontando la sua verità sulla morte di Druso, la inviò a Tiberio e si tolse la vita⁵¹. Benché successiva rispetto alla morte di Druso del 23 (*Ann.* 4,8-9), della confessione di Apicata Tacito racconta subito dopo la descrizione dei funerali del figlio di Tiberio (*Ann.* 4,11,2).

1.4. *St]uprātā muliē[re ~ P.Herc. 1067 cr. 2 pz. I sov. 4 l. 5*

Atroce fu quanto la giovane figlia di Seiano dovette patire: dal momento che la condanna a morte di una vergine non aveva precedenti, Giunilla venne deflorata prima di essere strangolata. L'episodio è narrato negli *Annales* (5,9), nella vita svetoniana di Tiberio (61,5), in Cassio Dione (58,12,6); Tacito, inoltre, fa risalire l'informazione a dei *temporis eius auctores*, innominati storiografi vissuti in età tiberiana dai quali avrebbe attinto la notizia. La possibilità che l'episodio di *stuprum* cui si allude nel rotolo ercolanese (*-st]uprātā muliē[re*)⁵² sia proprio questo di Giunilla è indebolita dal fatto che si alluda qui ad una *mulier* e che lo *stuprum* implichi generalmente una dimensione extra-coniugale: nonostante nel commento virgiliano di Servio si sostenga che *apud maiores uirgo* e *mulier* erano utilizzati indistintamente (Serv. Verg., *Aen.* 11,687), Giunilla era poco più che una bambina e le fonti parlano di lei come di una *puella*.

Né Tacito né Svetonio né Cassio Dione permettono di rintracciare menzioni esplicite di atti del genere esercitati su donne: in termini di *stuprum* si parla della diceria su Seiano, che si sarebbe prostituito per denaro al ricco Apicio (Tac., *Ann.* 4,1) o della sua relazione con l'eunuco Ligdo (*Ann.* 4,10,2), o, ancora, del febbrile desiderio sessuale verso giovani di buona famiglia che colpì

BALSDON (1951); BELLEMORE (2003), p. 269-281; per un'analisi comparativa delle fonti resta di riferimento QUESTA (1963), p. 73-78.

⁵⁰ A proposito della morte di Druso Tacito sottolinea il lavoro di ricerca fatto per esporre i fatti: *in tradenda morte Drusi quae plurimus maximaeque fidei auctoribus memorata sunt retuli: sed non omiserim eorundem temporum rumorem, ualidum adeo, ut nondum exolescat* (*Ann.* 4,10,1), su cui KOESTERMANN (1965), p. 64; LENAZ (2003), p. 1183.

⁵¹ È questa la versione di DIO 57,11,4-6; si confrontino TAC., *Ann.* 5,9 (ma la perdita di gran parte del quinto libro degli *Annales* è un ovvio impedimento alla ricostruzione dei fatti) e SVET., *Tib.* 61. L'episodio della morte di Seiano e quello dei suoi figli è anche riportato nei *Fasti Ostienses*, su cui BELLEMORE (1995); la ricostruzione di Bellemore permette di rivitalizzare l'informazione e la sequenza dei fatti veicolata da Cassio Dione e di non crederla errata, come si legge, invece, in LENAZ (2003), p. 1237.

⁵² *P.Herc. 1067 cr. 2 pz. I sov. 4 l. 5* (nel marginale).

Tiberio nel 32 d.C. (*Ann.* 6,1,1)⁵³, e degli eccessi che ordiva Aterio Agrippa (*Ann.* 6,4,4). Il solo Svetonio racconta dell'annullamento da parte di Tiberio della promessa fatta da un cavaliere che aveva giurato di non ripudiare mai la propria moglie, autorizzandolo a farlo dopo che ebbe scoperto che ella aveva una relazione adulterina con il genero: *eq(uiti) R(omano) iuris iurandi gratiam fecit, uxorem in stupro generi compertam dimitteret, quam se numquam repudiaturum ante iurauerat* (*Tib.* 35,1)⁵⁴.

Lo *stuprum*, però, è argomento declamatorio che penetra le *Controuersiae* senecane⁵⁵: lo è, ad esempio, nella *controuersia* della donna che, venduta schiava da vergine e costretta a prostituirsi, aveva ucciso un soldato che voleva farle violenza e chiedeva di diventare una sacerdotessa (1,2,7; 8; 11; 12; 13; 18); in quella dell'*incesta* che avrebbe dovuto essere scaraventata giù da un monte, ma che, sopravvissuta, era obbligata ancora a scontare una pena (1,3,1; 2); in quella dell'uomo che, avendo rapito due donne, voleva essere punito con la morte dall'una e sposato dall'altra (1,5,1)⁵⁶; in quella della donna che si vide lasciare l'eredità da un uomo che le fece ripetutamente offerte economiche *de stupro* rimaste inascoltate (2,7,5; 6); in quella dell'uomo folle che promise in sposa sua figlia ad un servo (7,6,9; 13). Nell'impossibilità, perciò, di rintracciare convincenti paralleli storiografici per una *mulier stuprata* negli anni dell'imperatore Tiberio, bisognerà o rassegnarsi ad una perdita di informazione, qui lacunosamente pervenuta, o all'inserzione di un episodio (verosimilmente storico) che avrebbe potuto colpire la sensibilità di chi, retore, vedeva nello *stuprum* un argomento di confronto dialettico.

1.5. *Ha't'eri- ~ P.Herc.* 1067 cr. 2 pz. I sov. 6 l. 5

Si è già detto dell'inclinazione agli eccessi sessuali di Aterio Agrippa, console nel 22 d.C.: raccontando di una serie di accuse scagliate contro i senatori, Tacito descrive Aterio alle prese con infanganti offese verso i consoli dell'anno precedente, offese che non fecero che renderlo ancora più odiato: era il 29 d.C. (*Ann.* 6,4,2-4). A caldeggiare perché a subentrare come pretore a Vipstano

⁵³ Sulla *libido* che sembra aver assalito Tiberio e sul fatto che questo dettaglio sia noto soltanto da Tacito e Svetonio cfr. KOESTERMANN (1965), p. 240; LENAZ (2003), p. 1217-1218; WOODMAN (2017), p. 87-89; in particolare su *Ann.* 6,1,1 BAAR (1990), p. 73.

⁵⁴ Cfr. RIETRA (1928), p. 36-38. Dalla narrazione di Svetonio (che non ha paralleli) non si evince la possibile datazione dell'episodio; doveva, però, aver avuto luogo negli anni 20, e probabilmente prima del 24 (anno cui SVET., *Tib.* 37,2 è legato).

⁵⁵ Su questo tema cfr. e.g. BRESCIA (2012), dove si troverà ulteriore bibliografia.

⁵⁶ Su questo luogo HÅKANSON (2016), p. 117-118; sullo *stuprum* e sul *raptus* nella declamazione latina (e in Seneca Padre) utili anche le osservazioni ed i rinvii bibliografici in SANTORELLI (2016), p. 145-146.

Gallo, nel 17, fosse Aterio Agrippa (già tribuno della plebe)⁵⁷ furono Germanico e Druso, probabilmente per il fatto che era imparentato con lo stesso Germanico⁵⁸; nel 22 Aterio Agrippa fu console designato e come tale prese per primo la parola nel processo contro Clutorio Prisco, accusato di aver composto il poema per la morte di Germanico per il quale Tiberio lo ricompensò prima che morisse Druso⁵⁹. Non c'è dubbio che il ritratto tacitiano di Aterio Agrippa è quello di un personaggio negativo⁶⁰.

Parimenti nel 22 sulla scena degli *Annales* si incontra il padre del console Aterio Agrippa, il famoso oratore Quinto Aterio: questi propose che le decisioni del Senato prese nella seduta che aveva deliberato in merito al diritto sacrale fossero ricordate con un'iscrizione di lettere dorate sulle pareti della Senato, ricoprendosi, però, di ridicolo per il suo spudorato atteggiamento adulatorio⁶¹. D'altro canto, il vecchio Quinto Aterio, proprio grazie all'adulazione riversata nei confronti di Livia, riuscì a salvarsi dal rischio di essere ucciso dalle guardie di Tiberio: morto Augusto (era il 14 d.C.), in Senato ci fu una serie di interventi rivolti a Tiberio e Quinto Aterio si volse a lui in modo sospettatamente provocatorio; pentitosi, si recò da Tiberio per farsi perdonare, ma, per gettarsi ai suoi piedi, fece cadere giù il neo-imperatore⁶².

Quinto Aterio è uno degli oratori che dominano la scena delle *Controuersiae* e delle *Suasoriae* senecane: Seneca fa di lui una delle anime dei dibattiti retorici delle sue opere, e questo evidentemente per la sua indiscussa e brillante eloquenza⁶³. C'è di più: ci sono due episodi che lo vedono interagire con Augusto, prima, e con Tiberio, poi. Nella sezione prefatoria alla quarta *controuersia*,

⁵⁷ TAC., *Ann.* 1,77 dove, come tribuno della plebe, oppose il veto alla proposta senatoriale di conferire ai pretori la facoltà di fustigare gli attori di teatro.

⁵⁸ TAC., *Ann.* 2,51,1.

⁵⁹ TAC., *Ann.* 3,49; su questo episodio e sulla possibilità che il poema di Clutorio Prisco potesse essere ritenuto magico cfr. LENAZ (2003), p. 1159.

⁶⁰ Forse che con Aterio Agrippa sia da identificare anche l'Aterio cacciatore di eredità menzionato nel *De beneficiis* senecano (6,38,4)? L'identificazione di un Arrunzio e un Aterio è qui fortemente controversa; in merito cfr. GRIFFIN (2013), p. 313, 343, 347.

⁶¹ TAC., *Ann.* 3,57,2: *at Q. Haterius cum eius diei Senatus consulta aureis litteris figenda in curia censuisset, deridiculo fuit, senex foedissimae adulationis tantum infamia usurus*. Quinto Aterio fu senatore, ebbe una lunga fama di oratore ed è protagonista di più di una declamazione senecana; ha, infatti, un ruolo dominante in SEN., *Suas.* 2,16; 6,1-2; 7,1, dopo che in *Contr.* 4 *praef.* (dove viene contrapposto ad Asinio Pollione), tutti contesti in cui il focus della descrizione sono le proscrizioni. Su Quinto Aterio cfr. BORNECQUE (1902), p. 170-171; GASCOU (1984), p. 269-270; CATTI (2005), p. 221-222; MIGLIARIO (2007), p. 23, 122-125.

⁶² TAC., *Ann.* 1,13,3-6, su cui KOESTERMANN (1963), p. 111-114; GOODYEAR (1972), p. 187-189; LENAZ (2003), p. 1025. Di Quinto Aterio e di Aterio Agrippa non c'è traccia nella narrazione dionaea; soltanto nella lista consolare che apre il cinquantasettesimo libro, per l'anno 22 d.C., si trova il nome del più giovane dei due.

⁶³ SEN., *Contr.* 1,6,12; 4, *praef.* 6-7; 7,1,4; 24; 7,2,5; 7,8,3; 9,3,13; 9,4,16; 9,6,8; 11; 13; 16; 10,5,24; *Suas.* 2,14; 6,1; 7,1. Si confronti anche SEN., *Ep.* 40,10.

infatti, dopo aver ricordato la dura perdita di un figlio, di Quinto Aterio Seneca mette in luce l'eccellenza oratoria e la capacità di trasferire in territorio latino la grandezza retorica greca nonché la rapidità di eloquio che, spesso, si mutava in vizio: una volta Augusto asserì solenne che Aterio si stava surriscaldando e che avrebbe avuto bisogno di una pausa (Sen., *Contr.* 4 *praef.* 7: '*Haterius noster sufflaminandus est*'). Un altro episodio lo vede soltanto protagonista marginale e ricordato per il suo acume quando si aprì una breve discussione tra l'imperatore Tiberio e Gallione, altro retore principe dell'opera senecana⁶⁴. L'oratore fu abbastanza longevo da attraversare il principato di Augusto e i primi anni del regno di Tiberio, e Seneca Padre lo ritrae in interazione con l'uno e tra i ricordi illustri dell'altro. Quinto Aterio morì nel 26, e gli *Annales* ne serbano un necrologio (4,61,1)⁶⁵.

Nella vita svetoniana di Tiberio un solo episodio coinvolge in modo esplicito l'anziano oratore, e questo episodio viene introdotto dal biografo nel momento in cui, in relazione al primo (e più positivo) periodo del potere tiberiano, l'imperatore diede sfoggio di un'educazione persino eccessiva nelle sue risposte: *dissentiens in curia a Q. Haterio: 'ignoscas', inquit, 'rogo, si quid aduersus te liberius sicut senator dixerò'* (Tib. 29,1). A quando data questo episodio? L'apparentemente confuso insieme di quadretti della vita svetoniana non permette di datarlo con certezza, né ci sono paralleli nella narrazione storica tacitiana o dionea; l'unica certezza è che si tratta di un momento anteriore alla partenza per Capri. Il breve episodio svetoniano, però, contiene anche una serie di elementi che permettono di metterlo in parallelo con la menzione di un Aterio nel *P.Herc.* 1067⁶⁶: in entrambi i casi lo scenario sembra quello del Senato (Svet.: *curia*; *senator* ~ *P.Herc.* 1067: *şena[t-; şen . l]*); in entrambi i casi va isolato l'uso del verbo *rogo* (Svet.: *rogo* ~ *P.Herc.* 1067: *rogab[]*); in entrambi i casi protagonista (o coprotagonista) è un Aterio (Svet.: *Q. Haterio* ~ *P.Herc.* 1067: *Ha`t[eri-]*).

Nel *bios* di Svetonio, poco prima dell'episodio in cui è fatta menzione diretta di Quinto Aterio, però, si coglie un'ulteriore allusione all'oratore e, in particolare, allo stesso episodio ritratto da Tacito nel primo libro degli *Annales* (1,13,7), che vide Aterio gettarsi alle ginocchia dell'imperatore (27,1): Svetonio inserisce l'episodio per illustrare la *ciuilitas* di Tiberio nei primi anni del suo regno, presentandolo in una chiave (positiva) diametralmente opposta rispetto a quella tacitiana (negativa), oltre che in momenti differenti della biografia

⁶⁴ SEN., *Suas.* 3,7: *apud Caesarem cum mentio esset de ingenio Hateri, consuetudine prolapsus dixit* (scil. Gallio): '*et ille erat plena deo*', su cui BERTI (2007), p. 285-290; FEDDERN (2013), p. 333-334. Gallione è uno dei più grandi oratori contemporanei a Seneca Padre; esiliato da Tiberio, venne successivamente riabilitato (TAC., *Ann.* 6,3); cfr. MIGLIARIO (2007), p. 29.

⁶⁵ Cfr. KOESTERMANN (1965), p. 186-187; FORMICOLA (2013), p. 216-218.

⁶⁶ *P.Herc.* 1067 cr. 2 pz. I sov. 6 l. 4-10: *rogab[- - -] l⁵ ut Ha`t[eri- - - -] l⁶ uar[- - -] l⁷ [- - -] l⁸ [- - -] l⁹ [- - -] şena[t- - - -] l¹⁰ [- - -] ūet[] şen . [- - -]*.

dell'imperatore. Svetonio doveva conoscere l'episodio, e verosimilmente lo attinse da una fonte letteraria comune a Tacito⁶⁷.

L'altrimenti riconosciuto ed innegabile legame tra Seneca Padre e la biografia svetoniana (in particolare con 29,1), potrebbe insinuare l'ipotesi che l'episodio svetoniano, se attinto dalle *Historiae* senecane, potrebbe riecheggiare il pur frammentario testo del *P.Herc.* 1067; cautela, però, si impone, e, dinanzi all'impossibilità di definire se l'Aterio del *P.Herc.* 1067 sia il padre o il figlio ci si limiterà a mettere in luce come, nel testo storico della biblioteca ercolanese, si ritragga un episodio probabilmente ambientato in Senato e con protagonista Quinto Aterio o suo figlio Aterio Agrippa.

1.6. *Potur[-, metu ~ P.Herc.* 1067 cr. 3 pz. I sov. 8 col. II l. 7; 10

Che una delle più consistenti porzioni testuali preservate dal *P.Herc.* 1067 sia caratterizzata da una serie di parole che riconducono ad una dimensione dalle tinte fosche è già stato messo in rilievo⁶⁸: più di un lemma farebbe pensare alla somministrazione di qualcosa da bere (*subiba[-; potur[-]*) e che questo qualcosa avrebbe potuto avere una azione lenta (*lenti [-]*), cosa questa che, in un clima di timore (*metu [-]*) potrebbe far pensare ad un avvelenamento⁶⁹.

Se per l'età augustea le fonti tacciono, per quella tiberiana c'è un certo affollamento di episodi di avvelenamento sospetti o reali: su Pisone ricade il sospetto di aver avvelenato Germanico, e fu imputato non soltanto nel discorso tenuto dall'imperatore stesso il giorno dell'udienza in Senato ma anche da una serie di accusatori⁷⁰; sospetto era anche l'avvelenamento della temuta Martina

⁶⁷ GASCOU (1984), p. 270; un analitico parallelo tra TAC., *Ann.* 1,13,7 e SVET., *Tib.* 27,1 viene messo in piedi ed il rapporto tra i due in relazione a Quinto Aterio esaminato a più riprese (p. 269-270, 396-397).

⁶⁸ PIANO (2017), p. 223. Viene, inoltre, avanzata la possibilità che ci sia l'allusione ad una "lenta e faticosa ricerca di acqua" da parte di un esercito o di un gruppo di individui; benché la frammentarietà del testo non renda impossibile nessuna ipotesi, di un episodio del genere non c'è notizia nelle parallele fonti storiografiche relative a episodi di età augustea e primo imperiale.

⁶⁹ *P.Herc.* 1067 cr. 3 pz. I sov. 8 col. II l. 4-17: *sepa[- - -]* ¹⁵ *lenti [- - -]* ¹⁶ *subiba[- - -]* ¹⁷ *potur[- - -]* ¹⁸ *š[i]mu[- - -]* ¹⁹ *jaşçe[- - -]* ¹⁰ *metu . [- - -]* ¹¹ *İf . [- - -]* ¹² *[- - -]* ¹³ *-]rcire qu[- - -]* ¹⁴ *[- - -]* ¹⁵ *tum lu[- - -]* ¹⁶ *ç[- - -]* ¹⁷ *laçtur[- - -]* ¹⁸ *[- - -]* ¹⁹ *gare[- - -]*. Differentemente dalla *princeps* non si propone qui l'integrazione *n]aşçe[-*, perché le possibilità sono molteplici (e.g.: *p]aşçe[-; f]aşçe[-]*) e non è possibile propendere per l'una piuttosto che per l'altra soluzione; anche alla l. 13, non c'è una ragione per la quale preferire *sar]rcire* a *fajrcire*. Né univoca è l'integrazione *ro]gare[-*, dal momento che non si può escludere *ne]gare[-* (si confronti SVET., *Tib.* 73,2, su cui cfr. *infra*) o, ancora, *li]gare[-*; se *ro]gare[-* è giustificabile non soltanto per l'occorrenza del verbo nel testo del *P.Herc.* 1067 ma anche per le analogie con la descrizione dell'avvelenamento di Druso (*Ann.* 4,10,3), *li]gare[-* per quella con la scena dell'avvelenamento di Abdo (*Ann.* 6,32,2), su cui *infra*.

⁷⁰ TAC., *Ann.* 2,69,3; 3,12,4; 13,2; 14,1.

e dei figli di Agrippa⁷¹; Lepida tentò di avvelenare Quirinio⁷²; venne simulato da Tiberio un tentativo di avvelenamento di Agrippina, ma attraverso una mela (per cui non c'è l'idea del bere una pozione avvelenata)⁷³; nella seconda parte dell'impero tiberiano, ci furono non pochi episodi di autoavvelenamento, come quello del cavaliere Vibullio Agrippa⁷⁴ o quello di una serie di personaggi che decisero di farlo in Senato⁷⁵.

La ricerca di Tacito fu, inoltre, approfondita per l'indagine sulla morte di Druso e sulle opinioni tramandate dagli *auctores*: Seiano ammonì Tiberio perché evitasse la coppa (*Ann.* 4,10,2: *potionem*; 3: *poculum*) che gli avrebbe offerto il figlio, e l'imperatore la passò a Druso, il quale per timore e per pudore avrebbe inflitto a se stesso la morte architettata per il padre (*Ann.* 4,10,3: *atque illo ignaro et inueniliter hauriente auctam suspicionem, tamquam metu et pudore sibimet inrogaret mortem quam patri struxerat*)⁷⁶; era il 23 d.C. Nel 35, invece, fu il re dei Parti, Artabano a mettere in atto un delitto: trattenuto dalla paura (*Ann.* 6,32,1: *metu*) ma in preda al desiderio di vendicarsi contro alcuni dei Parti che inviarono in segreto una delegazione a Roma, fece sì che l'eunuco Abdo fosse reso innocuo da un veleno ad azione lenta, mentre Sinace veniva accattivato con promesse mendaci (*Ann.* 6,32,2: *ut Abdum specie amicitiae uocatum ad epulas lento ueneno inligaret, Sinnacen dissimulatione ac donis, simul per negotia moraretur*)⁷⁷. Svetonio racconta di un altro veleno lento e mortale: quello che, secondo alcuni, venne somministrato da Gaio a Tiberio; era il 37 d.C. (*Tib.* 73,2: *sunt qui putent uenenum ei a Gaio datum lentum atque tabificum*).

E forse che la scena descritta riguardi un episodio avvenuto in un determinato giorno delle none di un ignoto mese di un altrettanto ignoto anno? Desta, infatti, qualche sospetto il segno di accentazione sul monosillabo *non* che si legge poco prima nel testo: difficilmente si sarebbe segnalata l'accentazione di un monosillabo, e non si può escludere che si tratti di una forma abbreviata per *Non(as)* – abbreviazione che farebbe il paio con il già menzionato *Iun(ias)* –; le uniche none che i *Fasti Ostienses* conoscono per gli anni che vanno fino all'età tiberiana sono quelle che identificano la celebrazione del funerale di Tiberio, il terzo giorno delle none di aprile del 37 d.C.⁷⁸. Dal momento, però, che non si legge chiaramente il segno distintivo prima del monosillabo, non si può scartare la possibilità che ci si trovi davanti ad una parola terminante in

⁷¹ TAC., *Ann.* 3,7,2; 19,3.

⁷² TAC., *Ann.* 3,23,2.

⁷³ TAC., *Ann.* 4,54,1; SVET., *Tib.* 53,1.

⁷⁴ TAC., *Ann.* 6,40,1.

⁷⁵ SVET., *Tib.* 61,4.

⁷⁶ TAC., *Ann.* 4,10-11, ma si veda anche SVET., *Tib.* 62,1.

⁷⁷ Su Artabano e sulle vicende del 35 cfr. BAAR (1990), p. 61; WOODMAN (2017), p. 229.

⁷⁸ *Ost.* Ch 20 VIDMAN (1982); cfr. EHRENBERG / JONES (1963²), p. 43: *III non(as) Apr(iles) f(unere) p(ublico) e(latus) e(st)*.

*I*non⁷⁹: forse un *Agamem* *I*non? Insieme all'aver commesso adulterio con Livilla, aver ricoperto di ingiurie Agamennone costò la vita all'oratore e poeta Mamerco Scauro; era il 34 d.C., ed egli preferì evitare la condanna suicidandosi (ma le fonti tacciono come: attraverso l'assunzione di veleno?)⁸⁰.

Quello dell'avvelenamento, inoltre, è tema declamatorio: tema della quarta e della sesta *controversia* senecana del sesto libro sono una *potio ex parte mortifera* (6,4) ed una *adultera uenefica* (6,6), mentre quello della sesta del nono libro una *filia conscia in ueneno priuigni* (9,6).

Non c'è un solo elemento che permetta di costruire univocamente un'ipotesi contestuale per le linee del *P.Herc.* 1067: la sola certezza sembra che i paralleli passi in cui si descriva un avvelenamento non soltanto toccano gli anni dell'impero di Tiberio, ma lo fanno attraverso le stesse tinte rintracciabili nel pur frammentario testo ercolanese. D'altro canto, sottolineare le analogie del frammento con la descrizione tacitiana dell'avvelenamento di Druso significherebbe immaginare che, trovandosi il frammento in questione ad una distanza vistosa (superiore ai 180 cm)⁸¹ da quello con la menzione delle guerre galliche, l'opera abbia analiticamente tratteggiato gli anni che vanno dal 21 al 23 (se si accetta l'ipotesi che l'impresa gallica sia quella voluta da Tiberio) o abbia riattraversato almeno dieci (e, al massimo, trenta) anni se il riferimento fosse alla vicende galliche cui Tiberio prese parte sotto il principato di Augusto. Se si pensasse ad Abdo, si arriverebbe non soltanto a tratteggiare un ulteriore episodio di politica estera messo in luce nell'opera, ma anche a vedere sintetizzato più di un decennio nella stessa porzione testuale. Se si trattasse, invece, di un ulteriore avvelenamento non descritto dalla fonti storiografiche posteriori, si aprirebbe un ventaglio di possibilità che includerebbe una serie di suicidi documentati, come quello di Mamerco Scauro. Pensare agli anni 20 o 30, però, significherebbe spingersi verso delle conclusioni relative al grado di analisi (e di analisi di specifici frammenti della storia imperiale) dell'opera storiografica senecana, conclusioni pressoché impossibili a causa della frammentarietà e dell'unicità del *P.Herc.* 1067. Né si può escludere che un'impostazione annalistica della narrazione possa essere andata incontro a digressioni relative a anni precedenti o successivi. Se l'avvelenamento presunto fosse, invece, quello di Tiberio del 37 ci sarebbe da interrogarsi sulla possibilità o che la narrazione storiografica continuasse oltre il 37 o che il testo successivo includa dettagli o digressioni sul regno stesso di Tiberio o sull'arco di tempo narrato nell'opera.

⁷⁹ *P.Herc.* 1067 cr. 3 pz. I sov. 8 col. I l. 2.

⁸⁰ Questo episodio è raccontato da DIO 58,24,3-4: nella tragedia *Atreo* l'autore avrebbe fatto "come Euripide" (*Phoen.* 393), esortando un suddito a tollerare la follia del tiranno, cosa questa che costò cara a Mamerco Scauro, del quale Tiberio sostenne volerne fare "un Aiace" costringendolo al suicidio; si vedano anche TAC., *Ann.* 6,29,3 e SVET., *Tib.* 61,3. Cfr. KOESTERMANN (1965); LENAZ (2003), p. 1264; WOODMAN (2017), p. 214-215.

⁸¹ Il numero qui indicato è approssimativo, ma derivato dalle ricostruzioni e dai dati illustrati in PIANO (2017), p. 173-176.

1.7. *Auguste* ~ *P.Herc.* 1067 cr. 5 pz. I sov. 1 col. I l. 3

C'è un ulteriore frammento che ha trasmesso parzialmente due colonne di testo⁸², frammento nel quale, già da tempo, è stato letto il vocativo *Auguste* che, insieme all'uso di voci verbali e pronomi di prima persona, suggerisce la possibilità che si tratti di un discorso rivolto al *princeps*⁸³.

Questa possibilità sussiste in parallelo alla constatazione che, però, generalmente, nei discorsi noti dalla letteratura prosastica, mai ci si rivolge ad Augusto attraverso questo solo appellativo: limitandosi a fonti di età augustea e tiberiana, ci si rivolge a lui come *Caesar Augustus* (e.g.: Svet., *Aug.* 58,1) e come *diuus Augustus* (e.g.: Tac., *Ann.* 1,43,3); differentemente, il solo vocativo *Auguste* può trovarsi in poesia (e.g.: Prop. 2,10,13; 4,6,37; Ov., *Met.* 1,199; *Tr.* 2,509).

Con l'appellativo *Augustus* Tiberio ebbe un rapporto conflittuale: nonostante fosse stato decretato da Ottaviano Augusto che il suo *nomen* (o meglio, *cognomen*) fosse ereditato da Livia e Tiberio⁸⁴, questi non assunse mai il titolo di Augusto, benché sopportasse di sentirlo quando veniva pronunciato e leggerlo qualora scritto, tanto più che lo aggiungeva quando inviava messaggi epistolari a re e dinasti stranieri⁸⁵; d'altro canto, questo titolo è ben documentato in relazione a Tiberio in iscrizioni e monete⁸⁶.

All'ipotesi, dunque, che il *P.Herc.* 1067 abbia qui preservato parte di un discorso rivolto ad Ottaviano Augusto – impossibile a dirsi da chi⁸⁷ –, bisognerà

⁸² *P.Herc.* 1067 cr. 5 pz. I sov. 1 col. I l. 1-11: [- - -] nostr[- - -]^{l2} - - -]ongius a prop[osito]^{l3} - - -]am Auguste]^{l4} [- - -] ut repetam et]^{l5} [- - -]rebrum eorum]^{l6} [- - -]arum [] qui ter]^{l7} [- - -]nquar sic ut . [- - -]^{l8} - - -]oga . []gnarum]^{l9} [- - -]amararu[- - -]^{l10} - - -] . . inēs šolo[- - -]^{l11} - - -] [; col. II l. 2-7: [.]šç[- - -]^{l3}]u[.] . c[- - -]]^{l4} potuisset [- - -]]^{l5} [a]doption[- - -]]^{l6} [e]xprobau[- - -]]^{l7} [.]qr . l.

⁸³ PIANO (2017), p. 199, p. 231.

⁸⁴ SVET., *Aug.* 101,2: *heredes instituit primos Tiberium ex parte dimidia et sextante, Liuiam ex parte tertia, quos et ferre nomen suum iussit*; si confronti Ov., *Fast.* 1,608, dove Tiberio è definito *tanti cognominis* (scil. *Augusti*) *heres*.

⁸⁵ SVET., *Tib.* 26,2: *ac ne 'Augusti' quidem nomen, quanquam hereditarium, nullis nisi ad reges ac dynastas epistulis addidit*, su cui RIETRA (1928), p. 18-19; DIO 57,8,1-2: τὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου (scil. πρόσρημα) οὐκ ἐπέθετο μέν (οὐδὲ γὰρ ψηφισθῆναι ποτε εἶασε), λεγόμενον δ' ἀκούων καὶ γραφόμενον ἀναγιγνώσκων ἔφερε καὶ ὁσάκις γε βασιλεῦσιν τισὶν ἐπέστελλε, καὶ ἐκεῖνο προσενέγραφε. Τὸ δ' ὅλον Καῖσαρ.

⁸⁶ Cfr. SCOTT (1932), dove si argomenta convincentemente in favore del fatto che Tiberio non volle rivestirsi del titolo di *Augustus* perché questo avrebbe implicato un alone sacrale di cui non avrebbe voluto rivestirsi agli occhi dei Romani; mantenere, invece, il titolo all'estero avrebbe significato tenere viva la tradizione del suo predecessore e non commettere nessun oltraggio di ordine dogmatico. Su titoli onorifici attribuiti a Tiberio cfr. BAAR (1990), p. 162-165; YAVETZ (1999), p. 40.

⁸⁷ SVET., *Tib.* 21,2 racconta di un ultimo scambio dialogico tra il morente Augusto e Tiberio, su cui WOODMAN (2006), p. 182; questo dialogo sarebbe avvenuto a porte chiuse, e si sarebbe sentita soltanto un'esclamazione di Augusto quando Tiberio lasciò la stanza. Che a parlare ad Augusto, nel *P.Herc.* 1067, fosse proprio Tiberio in un

affiancare quella che l'allocuzione possa essere rivolta a Tiberio, chiamato Augusto perché, probabilmente, a rivolgersi a lui era un sovrano straniero; all'ipotesi di un discorso, inoltre, bisognerà affiancare quella di un'epistola, probabilmente non lontana da quella che, ad esempio, secondo Svetonio, Artabano, re dei Parti, dovette scrivere a Tiberio (66,2) o a qualsiasi altra epistola a lui indirizzata⁸⁸. Né si può escludere che, se il *nostr[us]* alludesse ai senatori, si tratti di un discorso tenuto in Senato, in cui l'oratore si rivolga all'Augusto di turno, parlando in prima singolare di se stesso e in prima plurale dell'*ordo*.

Il discorso, come che fosse stato formulato, doveva essere nella sua sezione iniziale o in un punto di svolta⁸⁹; c'è una probabile allusione ai senatori (*nostr[us]*); si potrebbe parlare di qualcosa (o qualcuno) di 'denso', 'pieno'⁹⁰; c'è un verosimile riferimento al 'lasciare' (se, alla l. 7, si integrasse *li[n]quar* oppure *reli[n]quar*); si postula l'inconsapevolezza o ignoranza di qualcuno che, forse, era interrogato; si allude a qualcosa di amaro, sia un'erba, una pozione, l'acqua, la terra, o forse il sapore che giunge ai sensi⁹¹. Che il testo della seconda colonna del frammento sia ancora circoscrivibile al discorso fatto in prima persona – dialogo o lettera che sia – non è certo; certa è l'allusione ad una *adoptio*, forse quella di Germanico ordinata a Tiberio da Augusto⁹², forse quella nelle *gentes* Livia e Giulia della madre di Tiberio⁹³, forse quella di Tiberio stesso⁹⁴, o forse un'*adoptio* puramente retorica⁹⁵.

contesto analogo a questo svetoniano è ipotesi lontana dall'aver ulteriore supporto testuale.

⁸⁸ Forse che si possa pensare anche ad un'ambasceria straniera – come quella voluta da Sinace ed Abdo (TAC., *Ann.* 6,31,2) – indirizzata a Tiberio, il cui discorso è qui riportato?

⁸⁹ In PIANO (2017), p. 230 si osserva come la formula *l[ongius a prop]osito* sia altrimenti attestata e possa anche giustificare il successivo verbo *repetam*. È l'occorrenza di *repetam* a rendere plausibile, poco prima, l'integrazione - - - *quon]dam Auguste*, benché non si possano escludere *qui]dam* e le prime singolari di congiuntivi presenti e futuri indicativi di uno dei numerosi verbi in -*ndo*. ^l4 [- - -] *ut repetam et* ^l5 [- - -] *rebrum eorum* ^l6 [- - -] *arum* [] *qui ter* ^l7 [- - -] *nquar sic ut* . [- - -] .

⁹⁰ Altrettanto probabile quanto il *c]rebrum eorum* dell'*editio princeps* è, però, *ce]rebrum eorum*.

⁹¹ *Qui ter* (col. I l. 6) è spesso documentato nella formula *qui terque quaterque* (e.g.: OV., *Met.* 2,49), o *qui ter* + aggettivo (e.g.: HOR., *Carm.* 2,14). Si confrontino anche i frequenti riferimenti a terzi consolati (*qui ter consul*: CIC., *Pis.* 44; *Fato* 33; LIV. 3,12; 25; 8,33; nonché SVET., *Tib.* 26,2: Tiberio esercitò tre consolati). In SEN., *Contr.* 1,8 si legge *qui ter fortiter*; il numero tre e l'allusione a 'tre volte' sono spesso documentate in contesti retorici: si veda e.g. SEN., *Contr.* 7,3 (*ter abdicatus, ter absolutus* ...). Per le sfumature di senso dell'aggettivo *amarus* si veda ThLL I col. 1820, l. 30 - 1821, 41.

⁹² TAC., *Ann.* 1,3,5; SVET., *Tib.* 15,2; *Cal.* 4,1; cfr. BAAR (1990), p. 117.

⁹³ TAC., *Ann.* 5,1,1; 6,51,1; si confronti SVET., *Tib.* 3,1; 52,1.

⁹⁴ TAC., *Ann.* 1,7,7; SVET., *Aug.* 65,1; sull'adozione di Tiberio cfr. BAAR (1990), p. 59.

⁹⁵ Così già PIANO (2017), p. 232-233.

1.8. *Disiecta membra*

La lacunosità di altre sezioni dell'opera non darebbe adito che ad ipotesi ancora più labili, vaghe e non riconducibili a specifici dettagli storiografici: esegesi multiple sono possibili per la menzione di *fama* e *fortuna*⁹⁶, così come molteplici le identificazioni possibili di un *Gall* – forse il famoso Asinio⁹⁷? Vipstano⁹⁸? Elio⁹⁹? Togonio¹⁰⁰? Caninio¹⁰¹? o addirittura Gallione¹⁰²? o Cestio Gallio¹⁰³? e perché non pensare, sebbene lontano dalla menzione del *bello Gall*, alla Gallia e all'etnonimo derivato¹⁰⁴?

Troppo lacunosa è la sequenza *J . ium abll*¹⁰⁵ per spingersi ad ipotizzare che si stesse parlando dei *bona* di Seiano *ablata* dall'erario (Tac., *Ann.* 6,2), dal momento che la forma participiale *abll[at-* non è la sola integrazione possibile, perché non si possono escludere forme verbali derivate da *abluo* o *abloco*. Anche il frammentario *lactem* *[*¹⁰⁶ può indurre ad integrazioni molteplici che vadano da forme verbali alla prima persona (e.g.: *iactem*; *tractem*) ad un *lactem* che richiamerebbe una scena svetoniana dove si ritraggono i perversi costumi tiberiani nel secondo periodo del suo principato (44,1). Quanto ad un *Jaln*¹⁰⁷, a qualche linea di distanza da un possibile contesto bellico o in cui, comunque, si registri una contrapposizione tra parti con il riferimento all'incolumità di qualcuno o qualcosa, pensare all'ontano (*alnus*) o ai *balnea* non offrirebbe un contributo all'esegesi del frammento; troppo esigua, inoltre, è la stringa *[- - -]hra[- - -]*¹⁰⁸ per ricostruire la menzione del medico Trasillo (*T]hra[syll-*), tanto più che potrebbe esserci semplicemente l'allusione a qualcosa di bello (*pulc]hra[-*).

⁹⁶ *P.Herc.* 1067 cr. 8 pz. I sov. 2 l. 3: *fama*[-; cr. 4 pz. I sov. 3 l. 6: *fortu[n- - -]*.

⁹⁷ E.g. TAC., *Ann.* 1,8,3; 12,2; 13,1-2; 76,1; 77,3; 2,32,2; 33,2; 35,1; 36,1; 3,11,2; 4,20,1; 30,1; 71,2; 6,23,1; 25,2.

⁹⁸ E.g. TAC., *Ann.* 2,51,1.

⁹⁹ E.g. TAC., *Ann.* 5,8.

¹⁰⁰ E.g. TAC., *Ann.* 6,2.

¹⁰¹ E.g. TAC., *Ann.* 6,12,1.

¹⁰² E.g. TAC., *Ann.* 6,3,1. Alla possibile menzione di Gallione, in forza del già menzionato contesto senecano in cui l'oratore è ritratto in una scena con Aterio e Tiberio, allude PIANO (2017), p. 217.

¹⁰³ E.g. SVET., *Tib.* 42,2.

¹⁰⁴ Il ventaglio di opzioni si amplierebbe se si estendesse ai *Gallus* noti per l'età augustea; dal momento che, però, il riferimento ad un *Gall* è di molto successivo alla porzione testuale dove c'è il possibile riferimento ad un evento bellico in Gallia e dopo quello in cui c'è la menzione di Aterio, la pista augustea sembra meno verosimile.

¹⁰⁵ *P.Herc.* 1067 cr. 3 pz. I sov. 2 l. 9.

¹⁰⁶ *P.Herc.* 1067 cr. 3 pz. I sov. 6 l. 5.

¹⁰⁷ *P.Herc.* 1067 cr. 4 strato 1 l. 10.

¹⁰⁸ *P.Herc.* 1067 cr. 4 pz. I sov. 4 l. 9.

2. Seneca Padre e la storiografia sommersa

La frammentarietà dell'opera trasmessa dal *P.Herc.* 1067 impone cautela, e l'entusiasmo di leggervi resti di importanti *Historiae* inseguite nel minuzioso lavoro di *Quellenforschung* della storiografia imperiale incontra il naturale limite di un *uolumen* nel quale si identificano scarse tessere di un mosaico testuale arduo a ricomporsi ed in cui le ipotesi superano le certezze.

Se il titolo dell'opera è ricostruito con cautela nell'*editio princeps* del *P.Herc.* 1067, certa è l'attribuzione al suo *auctor*: nessun dubbio che il *P.Herc.* 1067 trasmetta l'opera di un Lucio Anneo Seneca, e che questo Lucio Anneo Seneca sia il *senior* è reso verosimile non soltanto dalla pressoché totale assenza di parole che riconducano esclusivamente ad un lessico filosofico, ma soprattutto dall'innequivocabile impronta storica della pur frammentaria e sfuggente narrazione¹⁰⁹. D'altro canto, anche il gusto per la dimensione dialogica – forse anche quella dei processi, e dei processi di lesa maestà e di quelli politici che si tennero a partire dal regno del successore di Augusto¹¹⁰ – è tanto più giustificabile e giustificato per chi ne abbia colto anche una certa utilità retorica e la retorica aveva per formazione.

2.1. La retorica dello storico, la storiografia del retore

La produzione retorica di Seneca Padre è profondamente segnata dal marchio dello storico: gli *Oratorum et rhetorum sententiae, diuisiones, colores*, con i loro dieci libri pervenutici solo in parte delle giudiziarie *Controuersiae* e due delle deliberative *Suasoriae*, sono la migliore e più esaustiva testimonianza delle forme che la declamazione assunse nell'età del principato¹¹¹; non si tratta, però, semplicemente di estratti di declamazioni, ma che l'opera sia stata pensata

¹⁰⁹ Poco giocherebbero nell'attribuzione dell'opera al padre piuttosto che al figlio riflessioni di ordine cronologico, perché la produzione della maturità del padre coincide con quella della giovinezza e dell'età adulta del figlio; certo è che nella biblioteca ercolanese entrò una produzione contemporanea, sia che fosse entrata al momento stesso della messa in circolazione sia un decennio o ventennio dopo.

¹¹⁰ Sui primi processi politici sotto Tiberio cfr. e.g. PALADINI (1968); BAAR (1990), p. 98; YAVETZ (1999), p. 87-94.

¹¹¹ Le declamazioni senecane sono al centro di numerose ricerche ed attente analisi: BORNECQUE (1902), spec. p. 9-38; SUSSMAN (1978); FAIRWEATHER (1981); (1984); CALBOLI (2003); BERTI (2007); LIELL (2013), p. 33-51. Sulla loro tradizione testuale, accanto all'edizione di HÅKANSON (1989) qui di riferimento, bisognerà ricordare, oltre a SHACKLETON BAILEY (1993), HUELSENBECK (2011). Un aggiornamento bibliografico sulla produzione declamatoria di Seneca Padre, dopo SUSSMAN (1984), è in SANTORELLI (2016), p. 147-148. Sul ruolo delle sezioni prefatorie delle declamazioni per l'acquisizione di informazioni di ordine biografico cfr. CITTI (2005), mentre sulla funzione di imperfetto e perfetto nelle prefazioni cfr. LIELL (2013), p. 117-265. Sul ruolo centrale dell'attività declamatoria nella vita pubblica romana fin dagli ultimi decenni del I a.C. cfr. LENTANO (1999); CAVARZERE (2000), p. 207-211; GLEASON (1999).

nell'ottica della critica letteraria emerge dalla fitta dose di citazioni¹¹² e la prospettiva dello storico emerge non soltanto dalla quantità vistosa di *exempla* ma anche dall'inquadramento generale e dagli elementi strutturali che, propri delle prefazioni alle opere storiografiche, caratterizzano quelle sezioni-chiave che sono le prefazioni alle declamazioni senecane stesse¹¹³. D'altro canto, *Ciceroniano more*, agli occhi di Seneca grande oratoria e storia erano allineate: la quinta *Suasoria* è sigillata dall'elogio del retore Gallione, una cui *sententia* è definita degna di retori e storici¹¹⁴. Fonti per *Controuersiae* e *Suasoriae* furono le raccolte di discorsi politici e giudiziari diffuse a Roma già dai tempi di Catone, ma anche le declamazioni di tutti quei retori che nelle declamazioni giocano un ruolo chiave – da Cestio Gallo a Vozieno Montano, da Emilio Scauro a Gallione e Latrone –, insieme ai quattro libri declamatori di Giunio Otone, quelli di figure del retore Gorgia, insieme ai *commentarii* preservati negli archivi nobiliari (*Contr.* 1 *praef.* 11), insieme agli appunti che Seneca stesso annotava durante sessioni declamatorie di altri retori come Marullo (*Contr.* 1 *praef.* 22; 24; 1,1,12; 19; 1,2,2,17)¹¹⁵. La composizione delle *Controuersiae* precede quella delle *Suasoriae*, intrise di riferimenti alla contemporaneità di Seneca e agli anni immediatamente successivi alla morte di Tiberio; in parallelo egli lavorava alle *Historiae*, ed è stata avanzata l'ipotesi che il grande interesse per la contemporaneità che emerge dalle *Suasoriae* sia spia dell'impazienza che Seneca aveva nell'incalzare nel suo *opus* storiografico¹¹⁶.

Amplificazione o inserimento di varianti o dettagli fittizi vengono intessuti su trame storiche¹¹⁷: le declamazioni senecane costituiscono una testimonianza preziosa per il contesto storico-sociale dall'età tardo repubblicana a quella

¹¹² E.g. Cassio Severo in SEN., *Contr.* 3 *praef.* 8-18, su cui CITTI (2005), p. 189-193.

¹¹³ Sull'impronta storiografica delle prefazioni alla declamazioni senecane cfr. SUSSMAN (1978), p. 57-58. Su SEN., *Contr.* 1 *praef.* 1-5, sul ruolo giocato dalla memoria e sulla necessità di ricostruire un lavoro fondato sulla rielaborazione di fonti scritte piuttosto che esclusivamente sulla *memoria*, cfr. SUSSMAN (1978), p. 77-79 e p. 131-132; BERTI (2007), p. 29-36; GUNDERSON (2003), p. 31-32 sulla retorica della memoria. Sulla prefazione al primo libro delle *Controuersiae* cfr. CITTI (2003); HÅKANSON (2016), p. 83-89.

¹¹⁴ SEN., *Suas.* 5,8, su cui FEDDERN (2013), p. 380. Cfr. MIGLIARIO (2007), p. 99-100.

¹¹⁵ Sulle fonti delle declamazioni senecane cfr. SUSSMAN (1978), p. 75-83; FAIR-WEATHER (1981), p. 37-41; BERTI (2007), p. 35.

¹¹⁶ SUSSMAN (1978), p. 93, dove si ipotizza che, vicino alla fine della vita, Seneca abbia interrotto le *Suasoriae* per avanzare l'opera storiografica.

¹¹⁷ Su 'Storia e storiografia per i retori' cfr. MIGLIARIO (2007), p. 95-101, ricerca sviluppata sul legame tra retorica e storia nelle *Suasoriae* ed anticipata da una precedente ricerca focalizzata sul valore di riflessioni storiche e contesti cronologici nelle stesse *Suasoriae*; MIGLIARIO (2005). Cfr. già BORNECQUE (1902), p. 86: "lorsque c'est à l'histoire que les rhéteurs empruntent les éléments d'un sujet, ils transforment les données fournies par elle, afin d'arriver au résultat cherché, un problème difficile à résoudre".

tiberiana¹¹⁸, ed in particolare nelle *Suasoriae* i declamatori che animano i dibattiti retorici sono contemporanei e coetanei di Seneca che lasciano emergere esperienze biografiche e generazionali. Fu dinanzi al *Caesar* che, ad esempio, il retore Vinicio accusò il collega Vozieno Montano (*Contr.* 7,5,12)¹¹⁹; di un'accusa di lesa maestà contro Vozieno Montano, processato al cospetto del Senato, nel 25 d.C., racconta anche Tacito (*Ann.* 4,42). L'oratore Mamerco Scauro è detto accusato di lesa maestà da un tale *Tusculus* nella seconda *Suasoria*; la stessa accusa gli viene rivolta, nel 32 d.C., negli *Annales* tacitiani, prima che fosse inoltre incriminato, nel 34 d.C., dell'adulterio con Livilla e di aver composto una tragedia in cui, attraverso l'oltraggio ad Agamennone, avrebbe inteso offendere l'imperatore¹²⁰.

La sesta *Suasoria* è, invece, preziosa perché rappresenta un campione della concezione storiografica senecana: dietro la raccolta antologica di stralci di opere storiografiche che descrivessero le circostanze che condussero alla morte di Cicerone c'è la volontà di ristabilire il vero storico¹²¹. C'è di più: prima di mettere sotto gli occhi dei suoi *iuvenes* la galleria di *exempla* di argomentazioni storiografiche, Seneca li ammonisce perché la assumano come una *salutaris potio* e confessa di farlo intenzionalmente per stimolare interesse verso gli studi storici (6,16)¹²². *Excerpta* da Livio, Asinio Pollione, Aufidio Basso, Cremuzio Cordo, Bruttidio Nigro vengono giustapposti: a meno che questi frammenti storiografici non si fossero condensati in selezioni antologiche circolate nelle scuole di retorica, Seneca dovette conoscerne le opere e, in ultima analisi, possederne i *uolumina*¹²³; spingersi verso l'ipotesi che queste *Historiae*, poi, abbiano giocato un ruolo sulla sua produzione storiografica ed immaginare che abbia potuto attingervi materia storica può, forse, non essere azzardato¹²⁴.

¹¹⁸ Sulla ricezione della propaganda augustea nell'opera retorica di Seneca Padre cfr. TORRI (2002-2003). Sugli *exempla* (non esclusivamente storici) nella declamazione romana cfr. VAN DER POEL (2009); HÖMKE (2015).

¹¹⁹ Su Vozieno Montano cfr. BORNECQUE (1902), p. 200-201; CITTI (2005), p. 198-201; BERTI (2007), p. 229-233 (con riferimento a SEN., *Contr.* 9 *praef.* 1-3).

¹²⁰ SEN., *Suas.* 2, 22, su cui FEDDERN (2013), p. 302-303; TAC., *Ann.* 6,9,3; 29,3.

¹²¹ MIGLIARIO (2007), p. 121-159, orientata verso un'esegesi che tenda ad illustrare come le vicende ciceroniane e di un'ultima generazione repubblicana potessero essere state rilette dal retore in virtù delle vicende di età augustea. C'è, però, da chiedersi se non si possa fare un ulteriore passo in avanti e vedere riflesso nell'immaginario senecano l'idea del *princeps* e dei più vicini anni di Tiberio: forse che dietro le proscrizioni possa nascondersi anche l'allusione ai numerosi processi politici e di lesa maestà che presero piede in età tiberiana? Sull'idea della guerra civile che emerge nelle declamazioni senecane cfr. MAZZOLI (2006), dove si analizza nel dettaglio la silloge storiografica su Cicerone.

¹²² Su cui FEDDERN (2013), p. 431-434.

¹²³ SEN., *Suas.* 6,17-24, su cui FEDDERN (2013), p. 434-464.

¹²⁴ Cfr. già SUSSMAN (1978), p. 150-152.

Seneca sopravvisse a Tiberio: la menzione dell'imperatore al passato nel noto episodio che, nella settima *suasoria* del terzo libro, lo vede insieme a Quinto Aterio e Gallione (*Suas.* 3,7) e la testimonianza della vita svetoniana, secondo cui sarebbe attinto da Seneca un dettaglio sulla morte dell'imperatore (*Svet., Tib.* 73,2) inducono a credere che Seneca morì dopo il 37 d.C.¹²⁵.

2.2. Le *Historiae ab initio bellorum ciuilium* come fonte per il principato di Tiberio

Del racconto della vita del padre di Seneca *iunior* restano soltanto le linee incipitarie nella scrittura *inferior* di un palinsesto della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (*Pal. Lat.* 24 fol. 43): in linee in bilico tra encomio e biografia, alla gloria che sarebbe spettata al padre – all'insegna della quale si apre il frammento – fa da *pendant* il ricordo della sua opera storiografica, le *Historiae ab initio bellorum ciuilium*¹²⁶. Che iniziassero dagli anni Sessanta del I a.C.¹²⁷, dallo scontro tra Cesare e Pompeo¹²⁸, o dall'età dei Gracchi¹²⁹ – ma certamente esistite¹³⁰ – le

¹²⁵ SUSSMAN (1978), p. 137-142; FAIRWEATHER (1981), p. 517, n. 6; MIGLIARIO (2007), p. 12, n. 8. Per ulteriori dettagli sulla vita di Seneca Padre cfr. SUSSMAN (1978), p. 18-33; MIGLIARIO (2007), p. 11-17.

¹²⁶ SEN., *Vita patr.* fr. 15 HAASE = fr. 97 VOTTERO = *Frag. Rom. Hist.* II, p. 982 T1: *si quaecumque composuit pater meus et edi uoluit, iam in manus populi emissem, ad claritatem nominis sui satis sibi ipse prospexerat. Nam nisi me decipit pietas, cuius honestus etiam error est, inter eos haberetur qui ingenio meruerunt ut puris et inlustribus titulis nobiles essent. Quisquis legisset eius historias ab initio bellorum ciuilium, unde primum ueritas abiit, paene usque ad mortis suae diem, magno aestimasset scire, quibus natus esset parentibus ille qui res Romanas ...* Sul frammento senecano *de uita patris*, sulle circostanze del rinvenimento, sull'*editio princeps* di STUEDEMUND (1888) e sugli studi che, poi, ne hanno messo in rilievo il valore cfr. LAUSBERG (1989), p. 1937-1941; WINTERBOTTOM (2014). Non è mancato chi ha creduto che questa breve biografia costituisse una sorta di introduzione alla stessa opera storiografica del padre; cfr. SUSSMAN (1978), p. 144.

¹²⁷ È questa l'idea rivitalizzata da MIGLIARIO (2007), p. 145, n. 19, a partire dalla considerazione che la memoria storica condivisa dai coetanei di Seneca si basasse sugli eventi degli anni Cinquanta del I a.C. e su quelli successivi.

¹²⁸ Questa posizione è stata illustrata in tempi recenti da Barbara LEVICK in *Frag. Rom. Hist.* I, p. 506 (ma si confronti anche III, p. 596-597, n°74) e ripresa da ZECCHINI (2016), p. 152-153, nonostante la pubblicazione di importanti studi che difendono l'ipotesi gracciana e la constatazione che nella breve nota biografica viene utilizzato il plurale piuttosto che il singolare, a difesa del fatto che bisogna pensare a più di una guerra civile; cfr. CANFORA (2015), p. 138-147.

¹²⁹ Questa possibilità è stata brillantemente illustrata da HAHN (1964) e ripresa da ZECCHINI (1977) e, in tempi più recenti, da CANFORA (2000), p. 162-167 e, in versione ampliata, CANFORA (2015), p. 138-202.

¹³⁰ KLOTZ (1901) nega l'esistenza di quest'opera storiografica; questa ipotesi è da tempo superata. Sulle *Historiae* di Seneca cfr. SUSSMAN (1978), p. 138-152; FAIRWEATHER (1981), p. 15-17; *Frag. Rom. Hist.* I, p. 505-508, dove sono riportati i due soli frammenti di quest'opera noti per tradizione indiretta (II, p. 982-985; III, p. 596-597).

Historiae di Seneca dovevano raccontare l'intero regno di Tiberio se la vita svetoniana dell'imperatore menziona esplicitamente la fonte senecana relativamente ad una delle versioni sulla sua morte¹³¹.

Le *Historiae* senecane non dovevano essere state concepite per avere una circolazione limitata¹³²: da più di un epigramma di Marziale sembra evincersi che l'opera di Seneca Padre fosse ben nota a lui e ai suoi tempi¹³³, ed è stato ipotizzato che questa fosse stata modello per Lucano¹³⁴ e per la storiografia di Tacito, Svetonio, Floro¹³⁵, Appiano¹³⁶.

Il capitolo relativo a Tacito e Svetonio è, indubbiamente, quello più complesso, e i punti di contatto tra i due diventano ancora più inestricabili mettendo in parallelo la prima esade degli *Annales* e la *Vita Tiberi*¹³⁷: per l'uno e per l'altro è stata ipotizzata una ripresa dell'opera storiografica di Seneca Padre, ma

¹³¹ SVET., *Tib.* 73,2: *Seneca eum scribit intellecta defectione exemptum anulum quasi alicui traditurum parumper tenuisse, dein rursus aptasse digito et compressa sinistra manu iacuisse diu immobilem; subito uocatis ministris ac nemine respondente consurrexisse nec procul a lectulo deficientibus uiribus concidisse*, su cui *Frag. Rom. Hist.* III, p. 596. Cfr. MAZZARINO (1966), p. 68; TOHER (1990), p. 145. L'opera storiografica senecana è stata soprattutto analizzata dalla prospettiva della concezione biologica che, stando a LACT., *Inst.* 7,15,14, vi sarebbe stata sottesa; cfr. e.g. CASTIGLIONI (1928), spec. p. 457-475; TIBILETTI (1959); ARCHAMBAULT (1966); *Frag. Rom. Hist.* III, p. 596-597.

¹³² SUSSMAN (1978), p. 144.

¹³³ SUSSMAN (1978), p. 145-148. Nell'epigramma 61 del primo libro c'è il ricordo, accanto a Lucano, dei due Seneca e l'allusione ad una *facunda Corduba* (MART. 1,61,7-8: *duosque Senecas unicunque Lucanum / facunda loquitur Corduba*), dove l'aggettivo *facundus* poco sembrerebbe essere pertinente ad una raccolta declamatoria rispetto ad una storiografica; non va, però, dimenticato che Seneca (*iunior*) è *facundus* in MART. 7,45,1 e non si può escludere che anche nel primo libro l'allusione fosse al più giovane dei due Seneca. Nel quarantesimo epigramma del quarto libro, invece, tra i tre menzionati, il *doctus Seneca* sembrerebbe identificarsi con il padre piuttosto che con il figlio (4,40,1-2: *atria Pisonum stabant cum stemmate toto / et docti Senecae ter numeranda domus*); cfr. SUSSMAN (1978), p. 145, n. 26. Familiarità di Marziale con le *Historiae* senecane, inoltre, si evincerebbe dalla concezione di *ueritas* che emerge da 10,72,8-13 (*non est hic dominus, sed imperator, / sed iustissimus omnium senator, / per quem de Stygia domo reducta est / siccis rustica Veritas capillis. / Hoc sub principe, si sapis, caueto, / uerbis, Roma, prioribus loquaris*); SUSSMAN (1978), p. 147-148 osserva che la *Veritas* di Marziale che ritorna dall'Oltretomba dopo l'oppressivo regno domiziano sembra rispecchiare l'idea di *ueritas* che, senza altri paralleli nella letteratura latina, emerge dalle poche linee *de uita patris* senecano in relazione all'opera storica paterna e da SEN., *Contr.* 1 *prae*f. 7-10.

¹³⁴ BRISSET (1964), p. 35.

¹³⁵ Che Floro abbia ripreso Seneca Padre è tema che ritorna frequentemente nella bibliografia relativa allo storico di II secolo, in virtù della medesima concezione biologica della storia; cfr. e.g. CASTIGLIONI (1928), p. 460; TIBILETTI (1959); BESSONE (2008), *passim*.

¹³⁶ Cfr., per primo, HAHN (1964).

¹³⁷ QUESTA (1963), p. 123: "è certo che, se altre dipendenze di Svetonio dagli *Annales* potranno essere dimostrate, esse saranno da cercare piuttosto nella *Vita Tiberi* che altrove". Sul Tiberio tacitano cfr. anche SHOTTER (1988).

il rapporto tra i due – che si amplia a quello con Cassio Dione¹³⁸ – è indubbiamente complesso. La voracità di fonti di Tacito è nota e dichiarata dallo storico stesso¹³⁹, ma il ruolo principe degli *acta Senatus* nella sua ricostruzione dei fatti è indiscusso¹⁴⁰; d'altro canto è a questo tipo di fonti che vengono ricondotte anche singolari coincidenze verbali tra Tacito e Svetonio¹⁴¹. “Bacino collettore di più tradizioni”¹⁴² attinte da fonti di natura differenziata, per la vita di Tiberio Svetonio, come Tacito, avrebbe fuso due tradizioni, ciascuna delle quali avrebbe potuto essere rappresentata da una singola fonte letteraria, probabilmente di impostazione annalistica: questa fonte comune a Tacito e Svetonio (ma anche a Cassio Dione) per l'età tiberiana è stata identificata con Aufidio Basso; il nome di questo storico, inoltre, viene generalmente fatto insieme a quello di Servilio Noniano e a quello di Seneca Padre, con la consapevolezza che tre autori (dunque, tre fonti) potrebbero dare voce ad almeno due tradizioni distinte (ma ugualmente diffamatorie verso l'imperatore)¹⁴³.

¹³⁸ Sul rapporto tra la storiografia tacitiana e Cassio Dione in relazione agli anni del principato augusteo e dell'impero di Tiberio cfr. QUESTA (1963), p. 35-82: nonostante alcuni dati non possano che aver avuto una matrice tacitiana, Dione tenne presente quasi sempre un solo autore di I d.C., cosa che emergerebbe dal fatto che eventuali allusioni alle fonti sono certamente dirette soltanto quando si riferiscono a dati tacitiani (o post-tacitiani); a questo autore andrebbero attribuite anche le divergenze tra Tacito e Cassio Dione. Cfr. SYME (1983), p. 10: “a highly literate society might well bring forth an Ignotus who serves as Dio's principal source”. Sulla figura di Tiberio attraverso un esame comparativo delle testimonianze di Tacito, Svetonio e Cassio Dione, cfr. già SYME (1974), le cui osservazioni vengono sviluppate quasi a recensire il volume di SEAGER (1972); attenta è l'analisi di HAUSMANN (2009), p. 36-66, sul carattere del personaggio di Tiberio che emerge dalla prima esade degli *Annales*. In tempi più recenti e limitatamente al periodo tiberiano, BAAR (1990), p. 232-245 è ritornato sul rapporto tra Tacito e Dione, ampliandolo a Svetonio. Su Tacito-Svetonio cfr. GRISART (1961); QUESTA (1963), p. 95-123.

¹³⁹ TAC., *Ann.* 4,11,1; 53,3.

¹⁴⁰ Insuperato resta QUESTA (1963), dove una sezione specifica è consacrata alle fonti della prima esade (p. 125-173); sulle fonti degli *Annales* cfr. SYME (1967) I, p. 358-375; SYME (1982), mentre su quelle tacitiane, in generale, POTTER (2012). Ai personaggi e alla loro costruzione nella prima esade è, invece, consacrato lo studio di HAUSMANN (2009), p. 11-145.

¹⁴¹ QUESTA (1963), p. 96.

¹⁴² QUESTA (1963), p. 125. GASCOU (1984), p. 457-674 si focalizza sulla combinazione di fonti di natura differente nella biografia di Svetonio; per la vita tiberiana non si esclude la possibilità che tra le fonti di Svetonio ci siano anche gli *acta Senatus* e che a questi possano essere ricondotte alcune coincidenze lessicali con l'opera di Tacito. Il problema delle fonti di Svetonio viene messo in secondo piano – se non totalmente tralasciato – in una serie di studi relativi alla vita tiberiana di Svetonio, come BRINGMANN (1971); DÖPP (1972); WITTKÉ (1974); l'analisi di RAMONDETTI (2000), poi, è tutta incentrata sull'idea di evoluzione o cambiamento nella condotta del Tiberio ritratto da Svetonio, per la rivitalizzazione della biografia svetoniana attraverso l'illustrazione di una coerenza interna fondata sulla fusione del tema della *natura* del personaggio con quello della sua *dissimulatio*.

¹⁴³ QUESTA (1963), p. 171-173; GASCOU (1984), p. 265.

La possibile convergenza di credo politico tra Aufidio Basso, Servilio Noniano e Seneca Padre – non meno della conoscenza estremamente lacunosa che si ha di questi storici – non permette di capire quale possa essere stato e come si sia concretizzato l’apporto di ognuno a Svetonio, Tacito e Cassio Dione¹⁴⁴. Certo è che da Seneca Padre Svetonio attinse una delle tradizioni relative alla morte dell’imperatore (Svet., *Tib.* 73,3-4), fusa ad un’altra di quelle di cui la vita stessa è portavoce nel momento in cui lo stesso dettaglio narrativo viene inserito nel *bios* di Caligola (12,4)¹⁴⁵. Altrettanto certo è che la principale opera storiografica di Aufidio Basso fu indubbiamente nota a Seneca Padre; meno certo, invece, è che non dovesse spingersi oltre la morte di Seiano, che circolò già sotto Tiberio (tanto più che, sotto Tiberio, Seneca Padre mise a punto le *Suasoriae*), e che, perciò, i toni dichiaratamente anti-tiberiani dovevano essere smorzati per incontrare il successo che incontrò¹⁴⁶. L’evidenza che dall’opera storiografica di Aufidio Basso abbia attinto dettagli sulla morte di Cicerone non implica necessariamente che Seneca Padre dovette utilizzarla come fonte anche per gli anni del principato tiberiano, ma in sordina può essere avanzata l’ipotesi che Aufidio Basso poté rientrare nel novero delle fonti della storia di Seneca Padre e filtrare così in quella più recente di Tacito; o semplicemente bisognerà accettare che, se la storia di Aufidio Basso si interrompe al 31 d.C. piuttosto che al 55 d.C.¹⁴⁷, per gli ultimi anni del regno di Tiberio Seneca Padre dovette rappresentare una fonte importante.

Fu, forse, l’opera paterna – “un’opera, ricca di dettaglio, costituente il patrimonio letterario della famiglia”¹⁴⁸ – a rappresentare un punto di riferimento per il figlio e per i suoi *exempla* storici che abbracciano l’arco di tempo che va dalle guerre civili a Tiberio¹⁴⁹? Il ritratto di Tiberio che emerge dagli *exempla* della produzione filosofica senecana è ambiguo ed ambivalente: Tiberio è modello di

¹⁴⁴ Cfr. GASCOU (1984), p. 275.

¹⁴⁵ Cfr. GASCOU (1984), p. 380-381.

¹⁴⁶ Controversa è la critica a proposito dell’opera storiografica di Aufidio Basso, sui suoi tempi di produzione, sulla sua circolazione; cfr. *Frag. Rom. Hist.* I, p. 519-521. Su Servilio Noniano e sui suoi *Annales* cfr. *Frag. Rom. Hist.* I, p. 522-524; ZECCHINI (2016), p. 154.

¹⁴⁷ Non manca chi ha ipotizzato che l’opera storica di Aufidio Basso si spingesse fino alla morte di Claudio; su questa spinosa questione cfr. e.g. ZECCHINI (2016), p. 155.

¹⁴⁸ CASTIGLIONI (1928), p. 456.

¹⁴⁹ In questa prospettiva si indirizza CASTIGLIONI (1928), p. 456-457. Recente è lo studio di BERNO (2013), dove sono isolati tutti gli *exempla* augustei dell’opera filosofica di Seneca; è lì che, accanto ad un’accurata esegesi dei passi (ma non delle loro possibili fonti) e all’analisi delle forme in cui Seneca dia voce all’idea del principato augusteo, si troveranno ulteriori rinvii bibliografici. Oltre si spinge l’analisi di CANFORA (2015), p. 162-174, dove l’analisi degli *exempla* augustei dell’opera filosofica di Seneca viene fatta in funzione di un’indagine della sua fonte, identificabile con Seneca Padre. Sul ruolo morale degli *exempla* in Seneca è concentrato anche il più generale contributo di MAYER (1991); non ci si interroga sulle fonti degli *exempla* in COGITORE (2012).

sopportazione del dolore¹⁵⁰, ma soprattutto è un calcolatore e pronto a rivelare il suo sadismo nei confronti dei senatori¹⁵¹. Ad esempio, chiamato in aiuto da un ex-pretore schiacciato dai debiti, Mario Nepote, Tiberio mascherò dietro un *beneficium* la convocazione di un'assemblea di creditori¹⁵²; Mario Nepote è ricordato, negli *Annales*, a proposito degli avvenimenti del 17 (1,75,5), ed il passo in cui più si riscontrano analogie con il racconto del *De beneficiis* senecano è quello in cui Tacito, al pari di Svetonio, racconta l'episodio di Ortalo (Tac., *Ann.* 2,37-38; Svet., *Tib.* 47)¹⁵³. Anche l'inclinazione di Tiberio ai piaceri del vino è nota alla biografia dell'imperatore e Lucio Calpurnio Pisone e Cosso Cornelio Lentulo non sono ricordati soltanto tra i suoi compagni di ubriachezza in Plinio (*Nat.* 14,143-145, limitatamente a Pisone)¹⁵⁴, Svetonio (*Tib.* 42) e riecheggianti più velatamente in Tacito (*Ann.* 4,34), ma compaiono anche nella galleria di *exempla* di un'epistola a Lucilio (Sen., *Epist.* 83,14-15). La presenza di Tiberio nella produzione senecana non è sporadica, e gli episodi che lo vedono protagonista sono narrati, spesso, con gusto anedddotico, senza tralasciare battute dell'imperatore e dettagli che non trovano parallelismi nella tradizione storiografica sull'imperatore¹⁵⁵; Seneca fu amico di Aufidio Basso¹⁵⁶ e potrebbe aver conosciuto la sua opera storiografica, ma molto lo aveva vissuto e gli era dettato dai suoi stessi ricordi¹⁵⁷ o avrebbe potuto attingerlo dalla tanto

¹⁵⁰ È questa l'immagine della *Consolatio ad Marciam* (15,3) – su cui MANNING (1981), p. 85-86; BELLEMORE (1992), p. 222-224 – e di quella *Ad Polybium* (15,3); si confrontino, però, TAC., *Ann.* 4,12,1; 8,2; 13,1 e SVET., *Tib.* 52,1-2.

¹⁵¹ Su Tiberio nell'opera di Seneca cfr. GRIFFIN (2003), p. 215-216, in una più completa riflessione sull'idea del principato che emerge dalla produzione filosofica senecana (p. 202-221).

¹⁵² SEN., *Ben.* 2,7,2-3, su cui GRIFFIN (2013), p. 192.

¹⁵³ CHAUMARTIN (1985), p. 199-200.

¹⁵⁴ Anche nella *Naturalis Historia* pliniana Tiberio è, a più riprese, protagonista di aneddoti (e.g.: 14,16; 64); la concentrazione nel quattordicesimo libro farebbe supporre una fonte comune per tutti gli episodi tiberiani, ma dalla lista di *auctores* menzionati dallo stesso Plinio non viene fuori nessun nome (di storico: Aufidio Basso, Servilio Noniano, Seneca Padre) che possa far risalire facilmente ad un'opera specifica. Plinio conobbe, invece, Cremuzio Cordo e a lui attinse verosimilmente per gli esempi che vedono per protagonista Augusto; cfr. TRÄNKLE (1969). Sul contributo di Plinio il Vecchio alla conoscenza della storiografia latina andata perduta cfr. *Frag. Rom. Hist.* I, p. 102-105; da questo studio non si evince nessun indizio che possa far presupporre che Plinio abbia conosciuto anche l'*opus* storiografico di Seneca Padre.

¹⁵⁵ Si vedano oltre i contesti precedentemente menzionati e.g.: SEN., *Ben.* 3,27; 5,25,2-3; *Epist.* 83,14-15; 95,42; 122,10; *Nat. quaest.* 1,15. Su SEN., *Epist.* 88 e sul contributo che questa lettera offre per la comprensione della documentata attività grammaticale di Tiberio su Omero cfr. TORRE (2016), dove si illustra come si possa "ricorrere a Seneca come a un potenziale testimone dell'età tiberiana" (p. 53).

¹⁵⁶ Cfr., da ultimo, *Frag. Rom. Hist.* I, p. 519.

¹⁵⁷ È questo il caso di SEN., *Prouid.* 4,4: Seneca dichiara di avere egli stesso memoria dei tempi di Tiberio e, a tal proposito, cita l'episodio del mirmillione Trionfo che si lamentava della rarità degli spettacoli gladiatori.

elogiata storiografia paterna. D'altro canto, l'influenza di Seneca Padre sul figlio è stata messa, a più riprese, in luce in termini di *imitatio* ideologica e lessicale¹⁵⁸.

C'è un'allusione che Seneca fa a Tiberio che, però, riveste un ruolo determinante nell'esegesi dell'immagine dell'imperatore e delle sue fonti storiografiche: rivolgendosi a Nerone per elogiarne la tanto apprezzata *bonitas*, nel *De clementia* (1,1,6), Seneca, mettendoli in parallelo con il principato augusteo, ricorda i *prima tempora* di Tiberio; alla menzione di Tiberio segue una distinzione tra bontà naturale e finta, con una breve discussione sulla simulazione. I *prima tempora* del *De clementia*, d'altro canto, riecheggiano l'*inter initia* del principato tiberiano stesso ricordato nel *De beneficiis* (5,25,1): la storiografia pretacitiana – cui Seneca dà voce – doveva conoscere già, insieme al ritratto dell'imperatore come quello di un simulatore, la spartizione in due periodi del regno di Tiberio¹⁵⁹; di qui l'immagine di Tiberio-tiranno¹⁶⁰, espressione di una tradizione storiografica che doveva precedere il più giovane Seneca e che questi dovette attingere, probabilmente, dagli scaffali stessi di una biblioteca familiare e costituita anche di 'libri di famiglia'.

2.3. Storiografia riemersa

Davanti alla dichiarata eccezionalità del veder riemergere dalla lava del Vesuvio un testimone diretto dell'*opus* storiografico di Seneca Padre meno azzardata di quanto si potrebbe immediatamente credere è l'ipotesi che questo 'libro di famiglia' degli *Annaei* fosse approdato nella biblioteca della Villa ercolanese¹⁶¹.

Certa è la paternità dell'opera, perché certa è, nella *subscriptio*, la presenza di un Lucio Anneo Seneca. La parzialità del testo di un *uolumen* lungo più di

¹⁵⁸ Gli studi concentrati sul rapporto tra i due Seneca sono fondati su quanto di Seneca Padre è giunto, e cioè sull'opera declamatoria. Dalle pionieristiche osservazioni di ROLLAND (1906) e, poco dopo, PREISENDANZ (1908), gli studi sono stati numerosi fino a TRINACTY (2009).

¹⁵⁹ Più complesso è se elemento divisore tra un periodo e l'altro sia la morte di Germanico, nel 19 d.C., o quella di Druso minore, nel 23 d.C.; cfr. QUESTA (1963), p. 127-133; GIUA (1975), spec. p. 345; GIUA (1978).

¹⁶⁰ Su '*Tiberius tyrannus*' BAAR (1990), p. 188-200, dove, a partire da un'analisi comparativa di Tacito, Svetonio e Cassio Dione, si mette in luce la svolta tirannica dell'imperatore dopo un periodo caratterizzato dall'*imitatio Augusti* (su cui p. 176-187), con una parabola in negativo che va dalla simulazione di un atteggiamento virtuoso al non più celato sfogo della scelleratezza. Numerose sono le biografie moderne dell'imperatore: tra queste ci si limita a rinviare a YAVETZ (1999); LEVICK (1999).

¹⁶¹ Non ci si spingerà in direzione dell'analisi del possibile ruolo della presenza di quest'opera senecana nella Biblioteca ercolanese e sul comune sentimento antitirannico che la allineerebbe con gli esametri del meglio noto *Carmen de bello Actiaco*, su cui SCAPPATICCIO (2010); conclusioni preliminari sono in PIANO (2017), p. 246-251.

tedici metri quale fu il *P.Herc.* 1067 impone cautela; ricomporre, però, i tasselli di questo mosaico testuale guida ad accumulare prove che riconducono nella prospettiva di una narrazione di tipo storiografico. D'altro canto, la possibilità che i personaggi storici che compaiono nel testo siano protagonisti di aneddoti o *exempla* in un'opera retorica è indebolita non soltanto dalla constatazione che la quantità di testo del *P.Herc.* 1067 doveva essere nettamente superiore alle perdite note degli *Oratorum et rhetorum sententiae, diuisiones, colores*, ma anche dal fatto che la storia di Seneca Padre non poté non risentire delle sue declamazioni (così come le sue declamazioni risentirono della sua natura di storico); bisognerebbe, inoltre, immaginare un *opus* del quale si sarebbero preservati soltanto frammenti che – quando contenenti parole certe e dotate di senso – danno voce a dettagli che bene convivono con l'ipotesi di un testo storiografico.

Il gusto per i particolari e, probabilmente, per la dimensione aneddótica si affianca alla presenza di sezioni dialogiche (o, in ultima analisi epistolari), l'uno e l'altra animati da personaggi storici e gravitanti intorno alla famiglia imperiale¹⁶²; ne emergono elementi identitari di un *modus operandi* storiografico e dell'impostazione stessa dell'opera, forse non molto lontana da una narrazione anno per anno come sarà, poi, ad esempio, per gli *Annales* di Tacito. Mettere in parallelo i pochi frammenti del *P.Herc.* 1067 con la storiografia che ha raccontato la tarda repubblica e il primo impero può portare, inoltre, ad identificare un denominatore comune nel principato di Tiberio.

Se, però, parlare di Tiberio significa parlare della prima esade degli *Annales* di Tacito, della biografia di Svetonio, e della narrazione di Cassio Dione, acquisire un nuovo testimone storiografico significa – nei limiti della ricostruzione frammentaria e della lacunosità del *uolumen* del *P.Herc.* 1067 – acquisire un *opus* che avrebbe indubbiamente circolato prima di quelli e che non si può escludere essere stato espressione di una loro possibile tradizione e, verosimilmente, una delle loro fonti. Se i frammenti superstiti del *P.Herc.* 1067 possono essere tutti ricondotti al regno di Tiberio (o, in ultima analisi, al principato augusteo), se la narrazione senecana era attenta al dettaglio storiografico, e se le *Historiae ab initio bellorum ciuiliū* ripercorrevano la storia di Roma fin dall'età dei Gracchi, quello superstite non dovrebbe essere il solo rotolo dell'opera. Inseguirne gli altri nella Biblioteca ercolanese potrebbe essere sforzo vano; sforzo vano non sarà, invece, lavorare ancora su frammenti latini inediti.

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¹⁶² Sul ruolo dell'aneddoto nella biografia tiberiana cfr. YAVETZ (1999), p. 45.

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APPENDICE

Si trovano elencati di seguito i passi del testo del *P.Herc.* 1067 secondo l'edizione di PIANO (2017) discussi nel presente contributo, attraverso l'indicazione dei relativi paragrafi. I paragrafi asteriscati sono quelli nei quali si diverge leggermente dalle letture dell'*editio princeps*.

- cr. 8 pz. I sov. 2 l. 3: cf. § 1.8
- cr. 1 pz. I sov. 4 l. 2: cf. § 1
- cr. 1 pz. I sov. 4 l. 8: cf. § 1
- cr. 1 pz. I sov. 5 l. 4: cf. § 1
- cr. 1 pz. II sov. 1 l. 3: cf. § 1.1
- cr. 1 pz. II sov. 1 l. 4 : cf. § 1.1
- cr. 1 pz. II sov. 2 l. 1: cf. § 1.1
- cr. 1 pz. II sov. 2 l. 8 cf. § 1.1
- cr. 6 pz. II sov. 1 l. 4: cf. *Introduzione*
- cr. 6 pz. II sov. 1+2 l. 4-5: cf. § 1.2
- cr. 6 pz. II sov. 1+2 l. 5: cf. § 1.2
- cr. 2 pz. I sov. 2 l. 2: cf. *Introduzione*; § 1.2
- cr. 2 pz. I sov. 3 col. I l. 2-5: cf. § 1.3
- cr. 2 pz. I sov. 3 col. I l. 4 : cf. § 1.3

- cr. 2 pz. I sov. 3 col. II l. 3: cf. § 1.3
- cr. 2 pz. I sov. 4 l. 5: : cf. § 1.4
- cr. 2 pz. I sov. 6 l. 4-10: cf. § 1.5
- cr. 2 pz. I sov. 6 l. 5: : cf. § 1.5
- cr. 2 pz. I sov. 6 l. 9-10: cf. § 1

- cr. 3 pz. I sov. 1 l. 6: cf. § 1
- cr. 3 pz. I sov. 1 l. 8: cf. § 1
- cr. 3 pz. I sov. 2 l. 9 : cf. § 1.8
- cr. 3 pz. I sov. 3 l. 8: cf. § 1
- cr. 3 pz. I sov. 6 l. 5. : cf. § 1.8
- cr. 3 pz. I sov. 8 col. I l. 2 : cf. § 1.6
- cr. 3 pz. I sov. 8 col. I l. 9-10: cf. § 1
- cr. 3 pz. I sov. 8 col. II l. 4-17: cf. § 1.6*
- cr. 3 pz. I sov. 8 col. II l. 7; 10: : cf. § 1.6

- cr. 4 strato 1 l. 4-6: cf. § 1*
- cr. 4 strato 1 l. 10. : cf. § 1.8
- cr. 4 pz. I sov. 2 l. 5-7: cf. § 1*
- cr. 4 pz. I sov. 3 l. 6: cf. § 1.8*
- cr. 4 pz. I sov. 4 l. 9 : cf. § 1.8

- cr. 5 pz. I sov. 1 col. I l. 1-11: cf. § 1.7*
- cr. 5 pz. I sov. 1 col. I l. 1: cf. § 1
- cr. 5 pz. I sov. 1 col. I l. 3: : cf. *Introduzione*; § 1.7
- cr. 5 pz. I sov. 1 col. I l. 4: cf. § 1
- cr. 5 pz. I sov. 1 col. I l. 7: cf. § 1
- cr. 5 pz. I sov. 1 col. II l. 2-7: cf. § 1.7
- cr. 5 pz. I sov. 5 l. 10: cf. § 1
- cr. 5 pz. II sov. 1 l. 7-8: cf. *Introduzione*
- cr. 5 pz. II sov. 3 l. 3-6: cf. § 1

Varro and the Contours of Roman Antiquarianism

1. Introduction

Varro's importance as a scholar has never been in doubt. His prolific output, sadly mostly lost, his reputation in his own times, and his influence on later writers, specifically and most significantly Augustine, have made him a permanent fixture in any general account of Roman intellectual life. In one specific area, he is of particular relevance as the most significant Roman antiquarian, a position he holds to some degree because of the difficulty of categorizing his manifold work. Recent work has started to reassess this picture, by looking at the concept of the antiquarian, and at Varro himself.¹ This essay will look in particular at Varro's *De gente populi Romani* and *De uita populi Romani*, and assess how useful it is to call Varro an antiquarian, and what that might mean. As a way into this dense topic, we will start with a brief account of Varro in his own times, and how his works have come down to us. We will give a very general account of how Varro fits into the broader context of what is often called antiquarianism in antiquity, and look at a more or less contemporary writer, Vitruvius, as a model for various elements of the Varronian project of ordering knowledge.

2. Varro in his own times and in the Renaissance

Varro was born in 116 BC in the Sabina, and it is reasonable to suppose that he came from wealthy stock, given his familiarity with the luxuries of villa lifestyle which he demonstrated in his only complete surviving work, *De re rustica*.² The two major figures in his early life were a scholar and a soldier. L. Aelius Stilo Praeconinus was a remarkable intellectual, whose interests ranged widely across the antiquities of Rome, and he taught Varro.³

¹ CARDAUNS (2001) remains the best introduction; one of the most lucid accounts of Varronian thought is TARVER (1997). For his life see WISEMAN (2009), p. 112-116; DRUMMOND in *FRHist.* I.412-415. See also now BUTTERFIELD (2015); ARENA / MAC GÓRÁIN (2017).

² For a new assessment of this work see NELSESTUEN (2015).

³ L. Aelius Stilo Praeconinus: SUET., *De gram.* 2, with KASTER (1995), p. 68-80; FUNAIOLI, *GRF* 51-76; LEHMANN (1985). He wrote a commentary on the hymn of the Salian priests, twelve young patricians who guarded a sacred shield which had dropped from heaven in the reign of King Numa (Varro discussed the *Carmen Saliare* in *De*

The other key figure was Pompey.⁴ Varro was no ivory tower academic. He campaigned against Sertorius, the rebel Roman leader who had a base in Spain, and commanded Roman and native troops with a mixture of imperial authority and local religious customs. When Pompey returned victorious and entered the Senate as consul with no previous office or experience, it was to Varro that the young general turned for a guidebook on senatorial practice (Gell. 14.7). He remained loyal to Pompey through the Civil Wars, but was pardoned by Caesar and was destined to organise Rome's library, an institution which Caesar intended to match the Alexandrian collection he had unfortunately caused to be burnt.⁵ After Caesar's assassination he was fortunate to find safety after falling foul of Mark Antony, and lived to the age of 89, dying in 27 BC, the year in which the young emperor claimed to have restored the Republic. Over his lifetime, it is estimated that he wrote 74 works in 620 or so books, or papyrus rolls, and very little escaped his voracious intelligence, and even less escaped the cataclysm that befell Latin literature at the end of the empire.

Varro's reputation was secured in large part by Augustine, who read him, worried about him, and chose him as a combatant in the arguments over Christianity and paganism in *The City of God*. Augustine is by far the most significant source for Varronian fragments; the rest are largely due to grammarians such as Nonius Marcellus and Charisius, who pillaged his works for definitions and peculiar linguistic forms. The high praise offered by Cicero also filtered through, but the works were mostly irretrievably lost, and it is not clear that even Augustine could have read everything Varro wrote.⁶

lingua Latina 7.26-7). He seems to have written some kind of glossological work as well, which allowed learned dissertations on words, objects and customs, and he was an authority on the plays of Plautus.

⁴ ASTBURY (1967).

⁵ SUET., *Caes.* 44.2; in the end, Asinius Pollio established a Library in the Atrium Libertatis (SUET., *Aug.* 29; OV., *Trist.* 3.1.71; ISID., *Orig.* 6.5) and it was Pompeius Macer who organised Augustus' library on the Palatine (OV., *Trist.* 3.1.63; HOR., *Ep.* 1.3.17 with scholia; PLIN., *NH* 7.115, 7.210, 34.43, 35.10; SUET., *Aug.* 29; TAC., *Ann.* 2.37, 83; DIO 53.1; SERV., *A.* 4.10). GREEN (1992) reveals much about libraries whilst pursuing a prosopographical argument. On Varro's librarianship, see CANFORA (1991), p. 128-129; Jerome's index reveals that Varro wrote a book *De bibliothecis* but nothing survives from it securely, and the comment attributed to Varro by Pliny (*NH* 143.68-70) that papyrus was only adopted at the time of Alexander the Great's conquest of Egypt, which Pliny refutes, need not be attributed to that work. See now KÖNIG / OIKONOMOPOULOU / WOOLF (ed.) (2013).

⁶ Textual transmission, Augustine and Varro: HAGENDAHL (1967) vol. 2, p. 589-593; REYNOLDS (1986), p. 40, 430; HADAS (2017). Brief survey of *Nachleben* in AX (2005). PETRARCH, *Epistolae Familiarum Rerum* 24.6: *etas nostra libros tuos perdidit*. The rediscovery of Varro is an important part of the argument in the famous essay by MOMIGLIANO (1950).

Petrarch is a key figure in the recovery of what we do have. Petrarch cited Varro as the third great luminary of Roman times, alongside Cicero and Virgil,⁷ but it is from Augustine that he largely knew the works, until in 1355 Boccaccio sent him some part of *De lingua Latina*, a copy of the lost Montecassino manuscript. Petrarch also successfully gathered both Cato the Elder's and Varro's agricultural works. Petrarch wrote one of his *Epistolae Familiarum Rerum* to Varro, offering tribute to a man whose name lived even when his books had been buried; he longed for the great collection called the *Antiquitates* which Augustine had used.

In the Renaissance then, Varro was known as a name, and through Augustine, but the extent to which the original works were studied varied. Biondo for instance often quoted him through other authors, notably Pliny the Elder. Pomponius Laetus (Leto) lectured on the *De lingua Latina* and edited it in 1471, and Petrus Victorius collated manuscripts for editions of this and the *De re rustica*, but the first collection of the fragments is van Popma's in 1601.⁸ The *De re rustica* was surely carefully studied; Pirro Ligorio published a reconstruction of the famous aviary in 1558, and it was influential in villa design.⁹

A careful study of Varro's reception is as sorely needed as is a decent edition of the fragments. This is particularly necessary because Varro is taken as in some senses a touchstone of antiquarianism in antiquity, a term which is hugely problematic. The debate has focused very much on definitional issues; what was an antiquarian? What kind of work was Varro doing?

3. *The antiquarian context*

This takes us into a very large conversation, and one which has to be seen in a wider Greek context, and indeed into the Roman empire, both of which tasks are really beyond the scope of this paper.¹⁰ However it is worth saying something about modern characterisations of ancient literature to draw out the way Roman antiquarianism is conceptualized differently from Greek antiquarianism. In a sense, we have always lived with Roman antiquarianism because Varro even in his fragmentary state has been such a famous name, as we have just seen. The familiarity of the concept has been part of its difficulty.

In the Greek world, however, there is no such towering figure, and there is also no collection, because Jacoby, although he recognised that some part of his

⁷ See DELLA CORTE (1970²) for a revival of the description.

⁸ VAN POPMA (1601), which was still the basis of 18th century editions.

⁹ WOODHOUSE (1999) with reference to the Ligorio reconstruction and its use at Kenilworth. See also SMITH (1977) for Ligorio's designs in a building which also has the air of an imagined aviary.

¹⁰ See the article already cited MOMIGLIANO (1950); and MOMIGLIANO (1990), with MILLER (ed.) (2007); GOULD (2014).

great collection would be ‘antiquarian,’ did not complete the work.¹¹ With the resumption of *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, attention has returned to this area. As Schepens describes in the preliminaries to *FGrHist* IV, “the working group agreed to arrange all fragments to be dealt with in *FGrHist* IV under the following headings: IVA: *Biography*; IVB: *History of Literature, Music and Art* (including sections entitled *Bühnen-Altertümer*, *Bibliothekswesen*, *Pinakes*, *Kultugeschichte*, *Heuremata* by Jacoby); IVC: *Politeiai, Nomoi, and Nomima*; IVD: *History of Religion and Cult*; IVE: *Paradoxography, Poikilography and Antiquities* (including Ἀγῶνες, Κτίσεις, Αἰτίαι, Μετονομασίαι); IVF: *Collections, Anthologies and Hypomnemata* (including *Apomnemoneumata*, *Apophthegmata*, *Chrestomathies*; *Paroemiography*)”.¹² It is striking that Varro could probably be cited for material in almost all of these categories, but only some of his works would fit neatly into these boxes.

A further problem for the Greek side is the number of authors who are quoted in Ps-Plutarch, and whom Jacoby classified as “Schwindelautoren”.¹³ Many are only names and titles, part of the flotsam and jetsam of the vast shipwreck of Greek literature, and possibly pure invention. Even more significantly, Jacoby had already taken into earlier volumes literature on individual city-states, which in the Roman context is potentially antiquarian or historical. So much depends on the contingencies of how an author is cited; a few quirks of fate and Timaeus of Tauromenium might have been a Greek with a distinct interest in the strange habits of Romans, rather than an early universal historian.¹⁴

This is fundamentally the difference between Jacoby and Momigliano, as Bravo brings out – for Jacoby the antiquarians were all historians of a certain kind, and for Momigliano they were something to be abstracted and studied in their own right.¹⁵ In a sense one might argue that both are wrong, and there are at least two ways of breaking down the dichotomy which Bravo has identified.

First, Marincola has argued for treating each work individually instead of adopting modern generic distinctions, and I find this compelling.¹⁶ At the very least, it is important to acknowledge that authors could mix styles within their works (see below). Moreover one of the consequences of the argument of this paper is that if antiquarianism is an approach rather than a discipline or genre (or as Humphries said “antiquarians are a kind of people rather than a genre of books”),¹⁷ it will be necessarily contingent on broader intellectual and cultural

¹¹ For the legacy of F. Jacoby see very helpful articles by SCHEPENS (2006), (2007a), (2007b).

¹² SCHEPENS (2006).

¹³ JACOBY (1940).

¹⁴ On Timaeus see BARON (2013).

¹⁵ For a comparison of Jacoby and Momigliano see BRAVO (2006).

¹⁶ MARINCOLA (1999).

¹⁷ Cited in SCHEPENS (2006).

trends. In other words, and especially across the long arc of antiquity, one would not expect generic expectations to remain static. We can easily make the point with reference to the narrower discipline of historical writing. Herodotus, Thucydides and Ammianus share certain expectations about what it is to be a historian, but they also responded to their time and their position within the development of historiography.¹⁸

Secondly, much antiquarian literature is technical and didactic,¹⁹ but it is not only focused on the past but it uses the past to illustrate or inform the present, just as historical writing does. The moral thrust of history, and of grammar, are different, but both exist, especially in the context of furnishing the mind and discourse of the civilized individual.²⁰ This is important both because it runs counter to the caricature of the dry-as-dust antiquarian and the tendency to underplay the commonalities across genres in the impulse to write in antiquity.

To be specific, what would a history of ‘antiquarianism’ before Varro look like? One might imagine something like a Lullist tree, in which more and more branches of specific knowledge are created.²¹ One might even argue that it is all there in Homer (who sang about most things, was used as a touchstone for many arguments thereafter, and whose text arguably contains layers of chronological knowledge which are close to being self-consciously present). Local or specific histories, commentaries and technical knowledge (law, music, grammar etc.) all branch off; even universal history is a branch of the historical endeavour, not the original or even necessarily the natural outcome of enquiry into the past.²² Some would also have to be cross-referred as covering cognate areas; themes like proportion recur in geometry, music, mathematics, metre and so forth, and many can be treated within history, or chronologically. And a history might also need to refer to the third dimension of individual authors who bind together the various subdivisions as well as authors whose metier is highly specialised or who launch a new branch of knowledge.

The famous illustrations of Lullist divisions, intended to aid memory (and not unlike Varro’s own endless divisions), are insufficient in that they are two dimensional representations, whereas we would need to introduce also a fourth chronological dimension, reflecting the critical moments when there are step changes in the sophistication of intellectual argument. One is clearly located in the Hellenistic period. The Callimachean obsession with complexity is unthinkable without and then itself productive of an industry of panhellenic localism,

¹⁸ See for example NOBBS (2012).

¹⁹ KÖNIG (2006); KÖNIG / WHITMARSH (2007), and below.

²⁰ The case for grammar was brilliantly made by KASTER (1997).

²¹ YATES (1966), p. 173-198, with particular emphasis on the importance of these diagrams in the art of memory.

²² LIDDEL / FEAR (2010).

as well illustrated by Greene.²³ Another is to be located in the late Republic at Rome, as studied by Wallace-Hadrill and Moatti, though they are not independent. Rather, the Roman moment represents a translation of Greek developments, and as Feeney rightly stressed, translation or cultural mediation is a dynamic moment.²⁴ Varro is a kind of culmination of this process, and is both engaging in the process of naturalizing elements of the Alexandrian world into Rome (as was happening in other fields such as poetry) but also participating in a specific transformational Roman moment. What is so interesting about this intellectual revolution is that it joins up the empire, and it is arguably itself an imperial moment. The Second Sophistic is then an outgrowth in one sense of the reach of Roman political and intellectual ambition.²⁵ One could continue into late antique traditions, and the way they become bound into the intellectualization of Christianity through figures like Origen, Jerome and Augustine, and ultimately the complexities of Byzantine compilations.²⁶ Yet this is absolutely not a linear history, but rather a history of loops and returns, as knowledge is recovered, redacted and re-presented. It is the nature of this scholarship that by virtue, as we shall argue, of an intense interest in the structure of knowledge and the ordering of knowledge, its originality is often to be found in the way that old information is juxtaposed in different ways.

If we were to attempt to be complete, we would need a fifth dimension for our diagram which would somehow incorporate the degrees of uncertainty which arise from a literature which is predominantly fragmentary. We simply do not know enough about many of the authors who we do or in too many cases do not collect. We guess at their intentions, the scale of their works, their originality, even at whether they actually existed. The complex and elaborate matrixes we constructed at the two dimensional quasi-abstract level of our diagram are at this level dangerously over-confident labels which may both misrepresent the complexity of works whose content is unknown, and create generic attributions which are derived from something as random as extracting blind a sentence from a full work. If the only sentence which survives from an author's work is a proverb, does that mean he is a paroemiographer?

Scholarship has of course recognised this and tried to compensate, though the back and forth between over-confidence and despair is constant. In all this debate, the word "antiquarianism" has proven rather unhelpful; it is too broad, too narrow or anachronistic. The last point is a problem which starts from the assimilation of ancient literature to a term of much later coinage, and therefore relevant to the issue of transmission. As MacRae has argued, the idea of Varro

²³ GREENE (2017).

²⁴ FEENEY (2016).

²⁵ Key figures would include Aulus Gellius, on whom see HOLFORD-STREVS (2003); HOLFORD-STREVS / VARDI; Plutarch, see recently TATUM (2014); PAYEN (2014).

²⁶ E.g. John Lydus, see MAAS (1992) and the review by BALDWIN (1994).

as an antiquarian, and concomitantly, the idea of Roman antiquarianism, is not only not part of an ancient way of thinking, but comes later rather than earlier in the Renaissance.²⁷

Varro undoubtedly stands in a longer tradition of writing. As a grammarian, especially, he looked to Hellenistic predecessors.²⁸ It was also characteristic of the Hellenistic period for some authors to be prodigiously productive and to play with genres; Callimachus is only one example. But at the same time, the specificity of the intellectual moment in which Varro worked, and of the dynamics of his individual works, needs to be respected. This paper will therefore concentrate on Varro and a near-contemporary, Vitruvius, and assess the strategies of the individual works in question. This will yield further grounds for critiquing the concept of antiquarianism in antiquity.

4. *Vitruvius and Varro*

By contrast with Varro, Vitruvius is completely unknown except for his work, and yet was well represented in the manuscript tradition, and was eagerly read in his entirety. Once again, Boccaccio and Petrarch feature in the recovery of the text. Silber printed an *editio princeps*, and the work was immediately taken up in the sequence of architectural treatises. As Payne nicely puts it, “for a Renaissance reader, Alberti and Vitruvius were effectively contemporary texts; both were published in 1486, one in Florence and the other in Rome”.²⁹

The importance of Vitruvius for the Renaissance need hardly be stated here; he is an omnipresent figure and an inspiration,³⁰ but he is by no means simply a source of technical knowledge. The text has a much larger scope, and as McEwen has shown, it is inseparable from the Augustan context. Vitruvius, she argues, makes writing the body or corpus of architecture analogous to writing the empire, and she draws out ways in which references to Augustus situate the emperor at the heart of empire, and exemplifying good order and decorum. Vitruvius’ book and the world of empire it reflected are profoundly interrelated through the body of the emperor.

²⁷ MACRAE (2018).

²⁸ SCHENKEVELD / BARNES (1999) for an overview of Hellenistic linguistics.

²⁹ REYNOLDS (1986), p. 440; PAYNE (1999), p. 70; MCEWEN (2003); WALLACE-HADRILL (2008), p. 144-210, who argues for the text as reconciliation of Greek theory and Italian practice, without compromising identity and within an Augustan Roman context. For an overview of Vitruvius’ influence see ROWLAND (2005); and for a brilliant new reading of Vitruvius and his elite audience, arguing against the idea that Vitruvius was writing an architectural manual, see NICHOLS (2017). For universalist or totalising elements in Vitruvius see COURRENT (2001).

³⁰ There is much of relevance in FANE-SAUNDERS (2016), even though he is recovering one of Vitruvius’ successors.

McEwen's thesis is not incontrovertible. It makes substantial demands on the text, and whilst Vitruvius' desire to flatter seems in earnest, one might lay greater emphasis, as Payne does for instance, on his interest in the rules and in the canon. Another way of reading the literature of the 20s BC is as a sequence of attempts to find Roman norms for the imposition of autocracy; Vitruvius is not alone in wanting to insist on fundamental Roman principles whilst being open to degrees of hybridity and innovation.³¹ As Nicholls argues, Vitruvius' project has to be understood within the larger context of the Roman project of "appropriating and adapting Greek knowledge".³²

Yet it does seem undeniable that Vitruvius' treatise is not simply a book about buildings. It signifies more than that and it has higher aims; Vitruvius makes clear his belief that architecture was one of the liberal arts (and one which depended substantially on a historical grounding), and this takes us directly to Varro. In his lost work on the *disciplinae*, Varro included architecture as one of the nine books, and although we only know this because Vitruvius tells us so, it is interesting because it was not a traditional member of the *enkyklios paideia*. It is also interesting that Vitruvius does tell us this and there are hints that he had read Varro, and thought about this work, though it is difficult to think of another instance where a part of one work was expanded into the whole of another work, as would be the case if Vitruvius regarded himself as an expansion of Varro.³³ What they may have had in common was a sense of their works as metonymic of broader claims about knowledge. I hope to argue elsewhere that Varronian encyclopedism is itself indicative and imitative of Roman imperial development, just as Pliny the Elder's work can be read as a commentary on empire, an artefact of empire, and a kind of representation of empire too in its size and scope.³⁴

Thus it seems to me entirely reasonable to read Vitruvius as a work which signifies more than simply its technical content, and Varro may have indicated ways in which this might be developed in his work. There is indeed a strong trend at present to look for these meanings in the subtexts of what we loosely call antiquarianism – a term which requires a lot of unpicking. Certainly when we consider an author such as Vitruvius we are really looking at the development of technical literature, and that literature is seldom only about the topic to

³¹ The literature on this is huge, but GURVAL (1995) is helpfully complex, though not universally accepted.

³² NICHOLS (2018), p. 193.

³³ VITRUV. 7.14; the point about expansion I owe to Glenn Most. On Varro and Vitruvius see GROS (2012); MEYERS (2005).

³⁴ Pliny the Elder; see especially MURPHY (2004); CAREY (2003). On encyclopedias, see DOODY (2010); KÖNIG / WOOLF (2013); TAUB (2017). See also NELSESTUEN (2015) for the argument that Varro's *De re rustica* allegorizes the Roman empire on the model of a farm; DOODY (2017) for the status of writing and authority.

which it refers.³⁵ The construction of such literature confers on writer and reader elements of authority and status, as Vitruvius himself claims, as much as if not more than it acts as a mechanism for instruction. Whatever else, Varro's work on agriculture tells us far more about the leisured life of the wealthy classes than it does about how to farm.³⁶

At one level, this literary development relates well to Rawson's description of the development of logical organisation in Latin prose.³⁷ Cato the Elder's rather random treatise on agriculture represents the beginnings;³⁸ Vitruvius' chief originality lay in his system of classification. In Varro, in the second book of the *De re rustica*, we are threatened with at least eighty-one subdivisions of the topic of domestic animals, 'all of them important and not one insignificant' (2.1.12), and though one suspects substantial humour here (as in the ninety-nine soil types in Book 1), it is in fact entirely characteristic of Varro to divide and systematise. As Rawson notes this is a procedure "to subdivide a carefully bounded single concept – whether it be soil, theft or the phalanx – into either parts or kinds".³⁹

On the other hand, the drive for order and system has been taken as symptomatic and symbolic of a greater sense of concern, despair and revolution. So Moatti, in one of the most challenging accounts of Roman antiquarian literature, characterised the construction of the great systems of knowledge as attempts to resist the collapse of moral norms in the Republic, and Wallace-Hadrill has construed antiquarianism as "a frontal challenge to the authority on which the nobility based their claim to power". The experts were no longer those who inherited position and operated on the basis of custom, but those who researched history and derived answers through reason; academic specialists displaced aristocratic *mores*; universal knowledge shored up the emperor, not the local solutions and accommodations of a self-reproducing elite. If we turn back briefly to McEwen's thesis, the body of architecture and the body of empire are united in the body of the king and represented by a universalising Roman culture.⁴⁰

This is a powerful reading, and it is substantially underpinned by Varro's own account of what he was doing in the *Antiquitates*. Augustine (*CD* 6.2.48)

³⁵ KÖNIG (2006).

³⁶ SKYDSGAARD (1968); KRONENBERG (2009); NELSESTUEN (2015).

³⁷ RAWSON (1991); TARVER (1997); MAYER (2005).

³⁸ See SCIARRINO (2011) on Cato.

³⁹ For a helpful account of models of organization of material in subsequent writing see RUST (2009). SKYDSGAARD (1968) is unconvinced that Varro's divisions are wholly successful. Diana Spencer (pers. comm.) notes that the distinction between organised division and chaotic fragmentation had real life significance in the late Republic.

⁴⁰ Characterisations of antiquarianism: MOATTI (1991), (2015); WALLACE-HADRILL (1997).

reports Varro's introduction to that work as a bold claim of both the utility and necessity of his research:

He feared that the gods should perish, not by enemy invasion, but by the negligence of citizens, and he claimed that this was the doom from which he was rescuing them, and that it was a more useful service that things should be stored away and preserved in the memory of good men through books of this type, than when Metellus is said to have rescued the sacred objects of the Vestals from burning, or Aeneas to have saved the *penates* from the sack of Troy.

This is a startling claim. It is not a direct quote, and it is possible to worry about whether Augustine has slightly misrepresented Varro here; did he perhaps intend rather that the modern equivalent of the actions of the great ancestors now was to use one's intellect, as Sallust argues for the significance of *ingenium*, and especially historical writing, in contemporary Rome?⁴¹ The emphasis is to be laid on the knowledge gained and then preserved, not that learning begins in books, but that it must now end in books, which are the secure repositories of oral tradition. As Augustine (*CD* 4.22) reports him, when Varro boasts of the service he is doing:

He not only names the gods who ought to be worshipped by the Romans, but also describe the tasks which belong to each of them. For it is of no profit ... to know the name and appearance of some man who is a physician and not to know that he is a physician. By the same token, it is of no profit to know that Aesculapius is a god if you do not know that he helps the sick, and if you therefore do not know why you should pray to him ... no-one can doubt that a knowledge of the gods is of benefit only if it includes a knowledge of what strength and skill and power each god has in each case. "For then," he says, "we shall be able to know what god we ought to call upon and invoke for each purpose, lest we should be like comic actors and ask water from Liber and wine from the Lymphs."

The claim seems to me a reinforcement of traditional values, but rather typically, Varro chooses to press his point by a neat piece of phrasing which requires reference to obscure Italic deities of streams.⁴²

Insofar as this is a literature of crisis, it is a confident one.⁴³ Varro believed in his method, and he believed that it had real world relevance. In the *De lingua Latina* he claimed to be able to recover the language of Romulus through etymology, and his famous passage in Book 5 on Roman topography (*LL* 5.9), a

⁴¹ SALLUST., *BJ* 4; on *ingenium* in Sallust's *Catilina*, DUCROUX (1977); HELDMANN (1993) p. 41-42; GUNDERSON (2000).

⁴² On the *Lymphae* see SCHERF (1999); DESCHAMPS (1983). The importance of Varro's systematic approach to Roman religion has been stressed by RÜPKE (2009); see more generally ENGELS (2007), p. 165-172, and also RÜPKE (2014) for the *Antiquitates*.

⁴³ In passing one might note that the Hellenistic flowering of scholarship occurred in a period which was similarly characterised by massive expansion, a crisis of the *polis*, untold wealth for some, tumultuous warfare, and radical change.

clear predecessor of Palladio's *Antiquities of Rome*, both in the sense that it is constructed as a sort of walk through the city, and in its method, style, and combination of the oldest parts of Rome with contemporary developments, is an example of categorization of the city.

Even the lengthy discussion on analogy which dominates books eight to ten can be read as a discourse on method.⁴⁴ Varro cannot justify an absolute sense of regularity – there are exceptions and they have to be respected – but there is sufficient regularity in the system of grammar.⁴⁵ It is this regularity, this essential set of rules, which permits one to play the kinds of games back and forth across language and therefore time which is part of the essence of the antiquarian urge.⁴⁶ This also gives a hint as to how to escape the problem of defining antiquarianism at least in the late Republic; it is not so much a genre, or a set of literature which can be identified and packaged, as a way of thinking about the past. Thus poets and historians can have antiquarian moments, without being antiquarians; what is at stake is a particular style and motivation, which I suggest stems from a belief that the past is comprehensible and recoverable if correctly studied and recorded.⁴⁷

A comparison with Vitruvius has served to show that late first century BC Roman scholarship was capable to hinting at larger intellectual projects. To demonstrate more practically some of the issues which arise from thinking about a set of confident re-orderings of information and recoveries of meaning, I want briefly to look at two fragmentary works of Varro, the *De gente populi Romani* and the *De uita populi Romani*. In both, whilst we struggle to see precisely where Varro was going, the polemical and argumentative nature of the exercise is abundantly clear.

5. Varro's *De gente populi Romani* and *De uita populi Romani*

The *De gente populi Romani* is for once readily datable to 43 BC by a reference to the consulship of Hirtius and Pansa.⁴⁸ Almost all the quotations come from Augustine, and there is little dispute over the nature of the work; it described what the Romans took from other peoples (*quid a quaque traxerint gente per imitationem*); it focused on the period up to Romulus, and so effectively it was a major treatise on chronological eras leading up to the foundation of Rome. As Cole has

⁴⁴ WALLACE-HADRILL (2008), p. 67-69.

⁴⁵ See TAYLOR (2015).

⁴⁶ See PIRAS (2017).

⁴⁷ See SMITH (2017); for good examples of how a poet could operate as an antiquarian see O'HARA (1996); PASCO-PRANGER (2000).

⁴⁸ *HRR* 2 2.10-24; FRACCARO (1907); TAYLOR (1934); COLE (2004); BAIER (1999); FEENEY (2007); MOATTI (2015) p. 73, 188-189. There is a useful account of Varro on early Rome in FOX (1996), p. 236-256. For the suggestion that the work may have followed Cn. Gellius (*FRHist.* 14) see CHASSIGNET (1999).

demonstrated, the fundamental influence was Castor of Rhodes, whose major chronological and synchronising account has been characterised recently by Denis Feeney as a major turning point in the Roman historical tradition. Castor of Rhodes deliberately wrote universal history with Rome a strong player as well as the eastern king lists, and may have culminated in Pompey's triumph.⁴⁹ Roman imperial expansion united the disparate threads of local time and local hegemonies into a single universal history, and subsequent writers followed suit, such as Diodorus Siculus and in a rather different way, Strabo; in Feeney's account, Castor shows a Republican understanding of the consequences of empire. Now Castor's chronology was clearly taken up by Varro, and it is very difficult to imagine that Varro, staunch Pompeian as he was, missed the message.

The *De gente* is about other things too. The concentration on imitation (which reminds one of Vitruvius' later concerns with hybridity) is interesting; it is of course a major trope that Romans performed a peculiar mixture of conservation of local form and highly developed adaptiveness to external ideas. Yet the context was challenging. Inevitably, by looking at the most distant past, Varro was in a world of kings, and kings who became gods, and several of Augustine's citations are precisely about kings who had earned divine status. In 43 BC, the debate over the deification of Caesar was intense; Cicero in the first Philippic refused to countenance it, whilst the comet seen at Caesar's funeral games was held out as evidence and justification of an act which was as vital to the young Octavian as it was unprecedented in the old Republic.⁵⁰ The various accounts of Romulus' apotheosis (some of course had him killed by the senators) bear the traces of this dispute (Livy 1.16).

In 1934, Taylor argued that Varro provided the precedents for the worship of Caesar as a god by his investigation of particularly Egyptian customs, and Varro's euhemerism is well known.⁵¹ It is not entirely clear that we have to interpret Varro as so supportive. Baier has argued that the Egyptian precedents could be taken as negative, though we should acknowledge perhaps that the level of mistrust of Egypt which was engendered as the triumviral period drew on, and Antony's involvement with Cleopatra became the topic of bitter denunciation, should not be automatically read back into the context of 43 BC.⁵² Some sort of commentary however cannot be denied. This was a dangerous idea, and at the very least it seems to me that Varro is making an argument about the importance of the scholar in providing the material for comprehending the problem.

⁴⁹ Fragments at *FGrH* 247.

⁵⁰ RAMSEY / LEWIS LICHT (1997).

⁵¹ TAYLOR (1934); FOX (1996), p. 236-256; for instances see for example SERV., *A.* 1.52 (Aeolus a king not a god); AUG., *CD* 7.35 (Numa and Egeria).

⁵² BAIER (1999); survey in OSGOOD (2006). Other potential references are discussed in COLE (2006). See now the study by KOORTBOJIAN (2013).

There is a possibility that it was at the same time that Varro wrote as a sort of sequel another four-volume work, *De uita populi Romani*.⁵³ There is no doubt that Varro was influenced by Dicaearchus who wrote a work called *Bios Hellados*, and not just over the title.⁵⁴ The *De uita* is another polemical treatise. Beginning with Romulus and running down to the Civil Wars, it provides a version of Roman history from the foundation of the city, *ab urbe condita*, which mirrors a historical work and yet is completely different from it, yet it also contains as far as one can tell a strong story about the impact of luxury and excess on Roman morality which makes it close to the contemporary productions of Sallust. This work we know largely from citations in Nonius Marcellus, and that has an advantage because some of these have book numbers, and we can therefore deduce some sort of pattern to the work.

Book 1 covers the regal period; Book 2 contained the war against Pyrrhus; Book 3 refers to the Hannibalic wars, and Book 4 to Lucullus and the civil wars. Throughout the fragments of *De uita populi Romani*, one has the sense of change and decline. The work was dedicated to Pomponius Atticus and may have begun with self-deprecation: Varro says that Callicles could not achieve what Euphranor achieved in painting, perhaps suggesting that Varro was similarly indicating that Atticus was the better scholar. However, he does go on to say that his aim is to gather up and subtly tie together (*enodare subtilius*) the fragments of the past.

Many of the fragments are now reduced to simple facts without the editorialisation that would have given context. Scholars tend to comment on the well-known Varronian version of the tripartite Roman state, with its Latin, Sabine and Etruscan elements, but F3, though it seems hopelessly corrupt, seems to indicate something about mixing and moderation of the *triplex ciuitas* in the time of Romulus, in other words that the divisions of the state were intended in some way to moderate and manage the state.⁵⁵ The poverty of the early state is emphasised; the word *paupertas* is here assumed to relate to the smallness of coinage (*parua pecunia* F10) whereas in *De lingua Latina* 5.92 it is associated with a poor house (*pauper a paulo lare*).⁵⁶ Temples were small (F13); ceremonies chaste (F14); the difference between rich and poor houses minimal (F28)

⁵³ RIPOSATI (1939); SALVADORE (2004); AX (2000); FOX (1996); DESCHAMPS (2001); PURCELL (2003); new edition and commentary, PITTÀ (2015); see also scattered comments in HERKLOTZ (2007). Fragments are cited according to RIPOSATI (1939).

⁵⁴ See AX (2000).

⁵⁵ The usual comparison is made with Varro on the creation of the tribes; see RIPOSATI (1939), p. 94-95.

⁵⁶ For the significance of multiple etymologies see HINDS (2006): “the proliferation of etymologies as symptomatic of a kind of *totalizing* grammar, a grammar which finds ... not a movement towards infinite deferral and unfixedity of meaning, but a movement towards plenitude and perfection of meaning”.

in stark contrast with contemporary times (F15). Women refrained from drinking (F38); dress was simple (F44-9).

At the beginning of Book 2 Rome still maintains its spirit; they refuse bribes (F64), and seem to recover from the Gallic sack, and war is still fought according to the rules (F75). There are however signs of decline, the dwindling of a sense of civic pride and the rise of egotistical self-absorption (F66-7). The fragments of Book 3 are unhelpful, though there may be a reference to the arrival of luxury in the aftermath of the bequest to Rome of Pergamum by Attalus III in 133 BC, but by Book 4 it is clear that things have gone wrong. Gaius Gracchus had split the state by establishing equestrian juries: *bicipitem ciuitatem fecit, discordiarum ciuiliū fontem* (F114); the towns of Italy were devastated (F115); death, horrible war, and the catastrophic desire for office are all mentioned (F119-21), and there seems to have been something of a focus on Lucullus (F125-6), who spent hugely on extravagant building projects which literally collapsed under their own weight (F126).⁵⁷

Yet it is not just political development which interested Varro, though he does cover aspects of the Romulean and Republican constitution;⁵⁸ the point is that all institutions can be brought to bear on this sort of history. So marriage customs,⁵⁹ or the names for domestic crockery are relevant;⁶⁰ songs at feasts,⁶¹ burial customs,⁶² the mechanics of war and troop deployment⁶³ and armour⁶⁴ all have a role. Like Dicaearchus, Varro had a particular interest in food and drink.⁶⁵ Yet the end is bitter: Varro talks of the transformation of magistracy into domination;⁶⁶ of bloody conflict and gangrene.⁶⁷

Varro is making both a moral point and a methodological one. The moral one is straightforward and significant. One could argue that it fits well with Moatti's characterisation of a literature of crisis, but the crisis was of long duration and it must have seemed endless, and Dicaearchus has also had a sense of

⁵⁷ On Book 4 see NICOLET (1979).

⁵⁸ F5 for Romulus' *triplex ciuitas*; F68 for praetors and consuls; F75 for fetial priests.

⁵⁹ F78-9 for water and fire; see TREGGIARI (1991), p. 9, 168.

⁶⁰ F56 (*calpar* was the original name for a *dolium*).

⁶¹ F84; for the *carmina conuiualia* referred to here, and also in Cato the Elder (Cic., *Tusc.* 1.3, 4.3, *Brutus* 75), see also ZORZETTI (1990).

⁶² F104; what to do if someone is left unburied, a fragment that appears to be in the context of the Punic Wars; cf. lamenting at F107, 110 (SALVADORE).

⁶³ F86-88 on the organization of legions and cohorts.

⁶⁴ F90 on Gallic armour.

⁶⁵ On Varro, Dicaearchus and the antiquarian value of accounts of food, see PURCELL (2003).

⁶⁶ F122 *itaque propter amorem imperii magistratus gradatim seditionibus sanguinulentis ad dominatos quo appellerent*.

⁶⁷ F123 *quo facilius animaduertatur per omnes articulos populi hanc mali gangraenam sanguinolentam permeasse*.

moral decline and decay. The methodological point is just as interesting. This work is clearly chronological in shape and historical in tone. Just like Cicero's account in *De republica* Book 2 of the regal period, it is history with a purpose, but it is also perhaps a demonstration of the fact that there are other ways of writing history than the annalistic methods. It was not barren of incident or exemplary events – Varro has for instance the story of Aelius Paetus who, when a woodpecker settled on his head whilst he was giving judgement at law in the latter part of the third century, was informed that if the bird lived, his family would do well and the republic poorly; naturally he killed the bird and most of the family were killed at Cannae.⁶⁸ Yet there is no suggestion that either of these works contained the sorts of speeches which bulked out the standard histories, or the lengthy descriptions of battles. The emphasis is on treaties and legates, and the mechanisms and materials of war and peace. Antiquarian history did not avoid the moral energy of annalistic history, but it channelled its force in different ways.

6. *Varro's body of knowledge and the antiquarian landscape*

In the last section, I want to consider the relationship between the Varronian enterprise as described hitherto and contemporary historical writing. My intention is to explore both how close and how distant antiquarianism and historiography were in the last century of the Republic, and thus builds on my earlier generalizations about what we call antiquarianism. My argument will be that while there is probably a sufficient distinction such that dissolving the boundaries entirely is unjustified, there are also profound similarities, and that antiquarians like Varro, in using historical evidence, were conscious of the distinctive claims they were making for their methodology.

Varro was not, or at least only briefly, formally a historian; his *Annales* are only three books long, and of uncertain content and seldom cited in antiquity.⁶⁹ His characteristic mode was different – expansive yet highly structured accounts by topic or theme, with subdivisions.⁷⁰ To understand what such an approach might offer, we can look to other times and places. Killeen has written recently on seventeenth century exegesis and cultural historiography in that wonderful encyclopedia of error, Thomas Browne's *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*.⁷¹ The context is the enormous expansion in the capacity of scholars to comment on the material aspects of the past, especially the Biblical past, on the quotidian rather

⁶⁸ F94. DESCHAMPS (2001), p. 98 compares these vignettes to the portraits in Varro's *Imagines*.

⁶⁹ *FRHist.* I.415-23; II.52F1-2.

⁷⁰ FUHRMANN (1960), esp. p. 18-19 on the *Disciplinae*; SKYDSGAARD (1968); TARVER (1997).

⁷¹ KILLEEN (2006); cf. SHEEHAN (2003). For the broader context, see WOOLF (2003); SWEET (2004).

than the eternal, on questions such as the length of Jesus' hair (short, not long, because Jesus dwelt in Nazareth but was not a Nazarite, and therefore had no need to follow their injunction against cutting their hair – so Browne). This approach operated against views of Scripture as “a storehouse of transhistorical exemplarity” and isolated changes in practice through sharp focus on detail and an innovative cultural historicism. As Killeen puts it, “such an approach reads the Bible not as a timeless echo chamber of resemblances between parts of the scripture, which all essentially reiterate the same truth. The scriptures came to be seen in the plural, as a collection of historical documents from various societies, subject to different laws”.

The differences and similarities between what we tend to call history and antiquarianism in the late Republic seem to me still to require substantial work.⁷² As a beginning however, we might think about the differences between exemplary and encyclopedic knowledge. Livy's incorporation of antiquarian material throughout Book 1 probably reflects previous historiographical practice, but there is a great difference between the presentation of the fetial formula within a chronological framework, and its isolation and commentary in the antiquarian tradition.⁷³ We have a hint of what this might look like in Gellius 1.25 on *indutiae*, where Varro's definitions from *Antiquitates rerum humanarum* of a truce as a peace for a few days or a holiday in war is set against Claudius Quadrigarius' report that Pontius the Samnite asked for a truce for six hours. Gellius was aware that Varro's definitions were more witty than precise, but it is interesting that he maintains an antiquarian approach rather than seeking a historical ‘first instance’ – he goes back to etymologies, and ends by reporting the one secure fragment from Aurelius Opilius' *Musae*.⁷⁴ Gellius engages in classic antiquarian competition, but the idea that one can discover much by trying to get back to the origins of words as opposed to a historical argument based on who first invented something is also an antiquarian trope.⁷⁵ This use of language, combined with autopsy and the authority of overwhelming scholarship,⁷⁶ acute awareness of change over time (for instance, in the way that geometry emerges from the first divisions of land, to arrive eventually at the

⁷² See SMITH (2017) and MACRAE (2018).

⁷³ LIOU-GILLE (1998) is exhaustive; see also PINSENT (1959).

⁷⁴ GELL. 1.25 *indutiae sunt pax castrensis paucorum dierum ... indutiae sunt belli feriae*; cf. CLAUDIUS QUADRIGARIUS F21 P; cf. LIVY 9.14–15 (320 BC). OPILIUS: *indutiae dicuntur cum hostes inter sese utrimque utroque alteri ad alteros impune et sine pugna ineunt; inde adeo inquit nomen factum uidetur, quasi initiae, hoc est initus atque introitus*. On Gellius' knowledge of Varro, see SMITH (2018).

⁷⁵ On Varro and language, see SCHRÖTER (1962); COLLART (1962); ATHERTON (1996); BLANK (2008). For antiquarian competition, see RUST (2009) and GLEASON (1995). Varro's conviction of the significance of the word is neatly summarised in a citation in Donatus' commentary on Terence's *Adelphoe* V.8.29: *uerbum dixit ueram sententiam, nam uerba a ueritate dicta testatur*.

⁷⁶ This theme is particularly emphasised for historians by MARINCOLA (1996).

most abstract measurements, as discussed in the *Disciplinae*⁷⁷ and a concept of the unity of human knowledge constitute a powerfully alternative vision of the world.⁷⁸ Exemplarity for instance takes on a different role. For annalists, exemplarity normally resides in behaviour; action reveals moral qualities, and to some degree these moral qualities are in place from the foundation of Rome.⁷⁹ A brave Roman under Romulus was not brave in categorically different ways from a brave Roman under Scipio Africanus or for that matter Augustus, although civil war confused things. Equally, claims could be made for Augustus' own bravery being in a line of continuity back to the ancients.⁸⁰

In the antiquarian mode, the exemplarity is hugely diverse. Dionysius of Halicarnassus tells us that at curial dinners, Romans still used wooden vessels; but Varro can tell us all their names.⁸¹ Moreover, there are interesting tensions between timelessness and historical sequence. The annalist might seem to operate in a world of sequence, but exemplarity to some extent implies fixity of values.⁸² The antiquarian might seem to operate in a world of continuity where etymology and custom reveal unchanging truths. In *De lingua Latina*, Varro chases down Romulus' language and the festivals he describes are of great antiquity. Yet the world is not therefore stable. In moving words he writes (*LL* 5.5):

there are few things which the lapse of time does not distort, and many which it removes. The one you saw beautiful when he was a boy, him you now see ugly in old age. The third generation does not see a man as the first generation did. So those things which oblivion has taken away from our ancestors, even the assiduousness of Mucius and Brutus in tracking down the runaways cannot bring them

⁷⁷ CASSIOD., *Art.* 1213AB.

⁷⁸ The extent to which words change over time is an interesting challenge for Varro; see ATHERTON (1996), p. 246 for continuity, and BLANK (2008), p. 57-58 for the pathology of change.

⁷⁹ This is a complex issue; see ROLLER (2004) noting the importance in the annalists of buildings and other monuments as other signifiers, and these of course are of interest to antiquarians. See also ROLLER (2009), comparing exemplary historiography, grounded in fundamental continuities, and historicist historiography, which recognises change and contingency. Both, he argues, are present in Roman historiography, and, I would argue, antiquarianism. For other important studies, see HÖLKESKAMP (1996); CHAPLIN (2000); BÜCHER (2006); HAIMSON LUSHKOV (2015).

⁸⁰ The emphasis on the retrojection of contemporary values into narratives of the past needs to be balanced by the influence of tradition on behaviour. For a study of how one family may have been represented, and perhaps chosen to act, see RICHARDSON (2012). The connections between Augustus and Romulus are now well-rehearsed, but equally significant is the blocking of Crassus' claim to the *spolia opima*; see recently DARDENAY (2010) and RICH (1996).

⁸¹ D.HAL. 2.23.5; *De uita populi Romani* F51-59 are all on names of vessels of one sort or another.

⁸² KASTER (2005) and McDONNELL (2006) take rather different lines on the fixity and contingency of virtues at Rome. See GILDENHARD (2007), p. 118-130 for *uirtus* under pressure because of Caesar, at more or less the same time that Varro wrote *DVGR* and *DVPR*.

back. Even if I cannot trace them, I shall not therefore be slower, but even quicker, if I can. For the darkness is not slight in the woods where these things must be caught, and there are not trodden paths to where we want to go, or lack of obstacles to hold back the traveller on his way.⁸³

So the act of recovery by antiquarians in fact is like a fragment shored against ruin, a trace of what has been lost through time.⁸⁴

The experience of reading Varro and reading Livy will therefore have been very different. Annalists were to an extent identifiably different from other writers, although they could borrow material.⁸⁵ An annalist could behave for a while like an antiquarian, but the narrative drive has to pick up, and the next consuls have to be elected, the next war fought. For an antiquarian, the narrative drive can be absent, but there have to be compensatory pleasures and impulses. There is a fundamental difference in structure, and one of the reasons why *De uita populi Romani* and *De gente populi Romani* are so intriguing is that they insist on adhering to a chronological structure, whilst potentially in other ways behaving like antiquarian texts, as if Varro was deliberately confusing and transgressing boundaries.⁸⁶

This does not mean however that antiquarians and historians did not share intent and method, and the text we have cited, with its reference to the work of Mucius and Brutus, encourages some additional thoughts. This must be a reference to P. Mucius Scaevola and M. Junius Brutus, both influential jurists of the mid-first century BC. They are coupled together regularly in Cicero and other writers, sometimes with M. Manilius. They were responsible for publishing their *responsa*, but this passage seems to indicate that there was rather more at stake. Clearly in writing their responses, Mucius and Scaevola had engaged in research into the meanings of previous statements of law. This work would culminate in Scaevola's son Q. Mucius Scaevola's eighteen books on the *ius ciuile* but it is not easy to keep separate the activity of the individual members of this learned family, so P. Mucius may have already begun to think about the Twelve Tables, to which his son would then give substantial importance.

⁸³ For Varro on his own limitations, see McALHANY (2003).

⁸⁴ E.g. TARVER (1997), p. 133 for antiquarianism as part of a "literature of crisis" and as resisting change. In this context, it is interesting to compare VAN NUFFELEN's (2010) argument that in the *Divine Antiquities*, Varro argues against Posidonius that changes in Roman religion happened in historical time, not in some distant past, but that these changes were directly inspired by Greek philosophy and therefore Roman tradition embodied truth; and that antiquarianism was therefore a way of doing philosophy: "antiquarian research helps to uncover the philosophical truth hidden in religion".

⁸⁵ MARINCOLA (1999), p. 306-309.

⁸⁶ Note also AUG., *CD* 6.3 where the division of Varro's *Antiquitates rerum humanarum* into *homines*, *loci*, *tempora* and *res* parallels CIC., *De orat.* 2.53 where Antonius remarks that the early historians set down without ornament *monumenta solum temporum, hominum, locorum, gestarum rerum*.

P. Scaevola has also sometimes been associated with a codification of the pontifical annals; it is said that the annual notices came to an end during his pontificate, and it has been suggested (and denied) that he may have had a hand in organising the material up to that date. What this passage hints at is that seeking out the past could be done in very different ways, through law, through etymology, through – perhaps – organising records.⁸⁷

This reveals the fundamental problem with the term “antiquarian” as applied to antiquity. It is not only that it is a modern term, retrojected back, nor that antiquarians and historians are quite like each other sometimes; it is that the term “antiquarian” as we use it has to serve to cover an enormous range of writing, from legal corpora, to grammatical texts, to encyclopedic texts, and much else besides, all of which can draw in an even more disparate range of information to illustrate their points, and most of which exist only in fragments where context is lacking. The only fragment of Granius Flaccus which Funaioli gives as securely from his books on the *ius Papirianum*, and which is also cited by Bremer in his fragments of the jurists, is on the meaning of the word *paelex* (concubine), and neither cites the reference in Paulus summary of Festus’ summary of Verrius Flaccus, which reveals that Numa had a law against a *paelex* touching an altar.⁸⁸ So this is a ‘fact’ which could be adduced by a grammarian (spellings are various); a historian of law, or of religion; a dictionary writer, and would not be out of place in a historian, or an encyclopedist. This just one of many examples where antiquarianism, even stripped of its pejorative sense of an introverted pedant who studies the past for the past’s sake, is for classicists doing duty to cover not only a huge range of scholarship, but also concealing our ignorance of the nature and structure of so many of the works which are cited, but invariably lost.

⁸⁷ On Scaevola and Brutus see for instance *Dig.* 1.39 (Pomponius); *GELL.* 17.7.3; for the evidence for their work see *IA* (BREMER) I.22-5 for Brutus (largely *CIC.*, *De orat.* 2.224, indicating a surprisingly discursive manner) and 32-34 (for Scaevola). For this generation of jurists, see HARRIES (2006), p. 27-45, making Q. Mucius Scaevola the key figure; similarly SCHIAVONE (1976) on Q. Mucius Scaevola; (1987) esp. p. 19 on this passage: “se è vero, possiamo ancora vedere i due giuristi, protagonisti di una svolta nel sapere giuridico, lavorare insieme, sempre attraverso la ‘costruzione’ di un ‘testo’, ad un nuovo rapporto fra la città e la memoria del suo passato”. There is a new edition: FERRARY / SCHIAVONE / STOLFI (2018). Cf. SPENCER (2011a), p. 52, focusing on the language of the hunt and the woods, and for other thoughts on this passage, SPENCER (2011b), p. 68-70. For P. Mucius Scaevola and the pontifical annals, see *CIC.*, *De orat.* 2.51-3; FRIER (1999), p. 161-178 (firmly against Scaevola having had anything to do with any collection of the previous annals, which he attributes to an Augustan edition) and *FRHist.* I. 141-159.

⁸⁸ *GRF* 433-435; *IA* I.260-262; *PAUL. FEST.* 248 L; *NON.* 6.18 M; *GELL.* 4.3.3. The penalty for touching the altar was to offer a lamb to Juno, with one’s hair unbound. Unbound hair drew attention to the unmarried nature of the concubine.

One response to this is to change the terminology, but first we do not have an adequate alternative;⁸⁹ second a single alternative would simply replicate the problem; third we do not often have the evidence to be more precise; and fourth we should not invent a sense of research specialisation that did not exist in antiquity. With all the necessary caveats we may not be able to do without antiquarianism. However, we must not permit the term to obfuscate radical similarities between what one might conceive of as historically informed scholarship from the annalists right across to the linguists. A sense of the connectedness of this enterprise is detectable in antiquity.

In a fortuitously surviving aside in the encyclopedic work on the Liberal Arts, Varro defends the need to study all the arts together, a defence of the unity of knowledge (Gell. 16.18):

“But these things,” says Marcus Varro, “we either do not learn at all, or we leave off before we know why they ought to be learned. But the pleasure,” he says, “and the advantage of such sciences appear in their later study, when they have been completely mastered; but in their mere elements they seem foolish and unattractive.”

One of the most intriguing aspects of McEwen’s interpretation of Vitruvius is how rooted it is in Varronian concepts of the unity of knowledge, and how it too makes claims for the capacity of objects to signify other things.⁹⁰ Vitruvian signification and Varronian method seem related in the way that both argue for unity of the body of knowledge with attendant consequences for the authority of the writer, and the capacity of the parts to reveal something about the whole. The definitive representation of the body of architecture will give to Vitruvius *auctoritas* in relation to all learned men.⁹¹ For Varro, the vital existence of analogy as a mechanism for affording some rules, and the method of etymology which allowed him to chase down truths thought lost permitted the construction of his bodies of knowledge.⁹² Varro’s systems and definitions and reorganisations of knowledge, his threefold chronology, or his threefold theology, or his

⁸⁹ MACRAE (2018) provocatively states “Varro was a historian” but MARINCOLA (1999), p. 307, whilst coming close to a similar point of view, notes that “unlike historians, antiquarians did not usually write in narrative form” but that this does not mean that “history remained largely narrative and eschewed analysis”. A key negative argument against collapsing antiquarians into historians is made at *FRHist.I.8*: “It is certain however that they [sc. so-called antiquarians] were not regarded as historians, and never appear as such in texts where historians are listed and discussed”. For some problematic cases, see SMITH (2017).

⁹⁰ MCEWEN (2003).

⁹¹ VITRUV. 1.1.18

⁹² See for instance GARCEA (2008), p. 110: “la *ratio* propre à celle-ci étant vue non comme un outil créé par l’homme, dont la rationalité se manifeste dans une relation fin / moyens, mais comme une espèce du genre universel de la raison cosmique, d’un principe explicatif immanent au monde”.

nine liberal arts, or his ninety-nine types of soil all betoken something about his *auctoritas* in imposing on the field of knowledge some boundary divisions and paths; Cicero (*Acad.* 1.3.9) famously said that Varro's books led the Romans home. Similarly Livy's preface both demands respect for his achievement, even by claiming his own obscurity, and insists on the relevance of the whole of Roman history for contemporary individual and collective behaviour.

Socially therefore, intellectual activity gives status and worth. It serves a function within the context of a competitive but fluid world. This social space varies over time; most early historians are senators, but a lot of grammarians are freedmen; yet Varro was a senator and Livy was not. These shifting boundaries are reflections of broader challenges to elite knowledge in the context of the cultural revolution of the late Republic.⁹³ Intellectually, the mapping and remapping of a territory of knowledge is also an act of ongoing national self-knowledge and self-creation.

Woolf argued that one might feel a sense of disappointment at the absence of debate in ancient ethnography. Explanatory paradigms are not put into conversation with each other; stereotypes continue to hold good, even whilst the world was rapidly changing, be that in the first century BC or the fourth century AD. Other intellectual disciplines were certainly more in motion; Woolf cites mathematics and medicine.⁹⁴

Conversely, if the barbarian stayed the same, the Romans obsessively redrew the map of themselves. The increase in apparent knowledge which accrued between Fabius Pictor and Livy, evinced by the growth in the length of historical accounts and the adducing of new information; the publication of the *annales maximi*; the codification of the *ius civile*; the upsurge in discussion of grammar, etymology, and metre; the advances in topography, genealogy and chronology all betoken a radical redefinition of the Roman intellectual landscape, and most are rooted in an enhanced sense of Rome's position in relation to the past. Just as the antiquarian gained *auctoritas*, the rapid development of Rome's knowledge of the past which so influenced its contemporary condition was part of an albeit conflicted set of claims about Rome's position in the world.⁹⁵

⁹³ Status of authors: RAWSON (1985), p. 66-99; WALLACE-HADRILL (2008); GOLDBERG (2005); KÖNIG / WHITMARSH (2007), p. 22-24. For an interesting argument about Varronian self-fashioning in the *De lingua Latina*, see also LUNDY (2013), p. 58-66, noting the passage at *LL* 8.6, where Varro claims that to understand how words were given to things requires a historical approach, but to note how words decline is something that even slaves can learn. As SUET., *Gramm.* shows, grammarians start off as of rather low status but as the subject grows, *clarissimi uiri* become involved, one of whom must have been Varro, KASTER (1995), p. 81.

⁹⁴ WOOLF (2011), esp. p. 51-58.

⁹⁵ LUNDY (2013), p. 108-154 examines Varronian ethnography. PURCELL (2003), p. 348 draws attention to the difference between Dicaearchus' vague Hellas and Varro's precise *populus Romanus*, both the equation of the life of a human and the life of a people, but also the claimed equivalence between Greece and Rome. DENCH (2005),

Is this a literature of crisis, or rupture, or revolution? Possibly all of this, but I return to my contention that this is also a literature of confidence. The last century of the Republic was paradoxically both internally disastrous and externally triumphant; arguably, Pompey's and Caesar's conquests transformed Rome and her empire more decisively and more permanently than did their civil war. Castor's universal history and Varro's unified body of knowledge are symptoms of ways of reading and writing about this new world, and they take their place alongside Caesar's rigid view of regularity in language, the autobiographical wave of writing which began late in the second century BC, the Sallustian style of pamphlet, histories, abridgements of histories, grammatical works, commentaries on laws and hymns, natural history, ethnography, poems both long and short, and many highly erudite and learned, some by non-elite specialists, others by senators, dictators and emperors, all written in this fertile, imaginative and creative century.⁹⁶

In her introduction to the magnificent volume produced to celebrate the tercentenary of the Society of Antiquaries of London, Pearce identified as a key theme of the volume "how people found a way of fusing imagination, understanding and method in order to produce accounts of the past, and how they made decisions when faced with competing possibilities".⁹⁷ Much the same could be said of the intellectual life of the late Roman Republic. Both the volume and the exhibition at the Royal Academy situated the antiquarians at the very centre of intellectual trajectories in their time, notwithstanding the ridicule and caricature to which they were frequently subjected.

Some of the same sorts of negative comment can be found in antiquity. Some time in the 20s BC, one Murena became an augur. Horace described the banquet. Some bore was droning on about the number of years between Inachus, the first king of Argos and Codrus the last king of Attica. It is possible that he was being rather clever, since there are connections between Lanuvium, which was the home town of the Murenæ, and Argos. The dates are not random, since Codrus also marked an important chronological point. Crucially we know that Varro dealt with both kings in *De gente populi Romani*, and probably used Castor of Rhodes and that both underpin the architecture of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Horace dismisses the bore, and calls for a party with lots of booze and sex, to celebrate a seriously well-connected individual entering an old and honoured priesthood.⁹⁸ Antiquarians have long had a poor press, but the landscape of Roman antiquarianism was a good deal more interesting than Horace suggests.

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p. 316-321 makes the case for the *De lingua Latina* as having been "under-exploited as a source for enquiries about Roman self-perception".

⁹⁶ RAWSON (1985) remains unsurpassed as a survey.

⁹⁷ PEARCE (2007), p. 7.

⁹⁸ HOR., C. 3.19 with NISBET / RUDD (2004) *ad loc.*

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Notes de lecture

Tre note ai *Getica*

L'imponente edizione dei *Getica* recentemente curata da A. Grillone per Les Belles Lettres (*Iordanes. Getica*, Paris, 2017) offre lo spunto per discutere tre passi dell'opera in cui l'uso delle congiunzioni *quod*, *quamvis*, *quamquam* e *quia* pone problemi specifici sul piano testuale e contenutistico. Si riproduce qui di sotto il testo di Giordane secondo l'edizione di Mommsen (*Iordanes. Getica*, Berlin, 1882) indicando, ove opportuno, le modifiche apportate da Grillone.

Get. 20 (gens Alogit): alternato merore cum gaudio beneficio aliis damnoque impar est. et hoc quare? quia prolixioribus diebus solem ad orientem per axis marginem uidet redeuntem, breuioribus uero non sic conspicitur apud illos, sed aliter, quia austrinis signis (austrina signa Grillone) percurrit, et quod (qui Grillone) nobis uidetur sol ab imo surgere, illos (illis Grillone) per terrae marginem dicitur circuire. I paragrafi 19 e 20 dei *Getica* sono dedicati al popolo degli Adogit che risiede nell'isola di Scandia, corrispondente grosso modo all'odierna Scandinavia. Nel passo in questione Giordane, dopo aver osservato che a causa dell'alternanza di tristezza e gioia gli Adogit si distinguono da altri popoli per il beneficio e il danno che ne derivano (questo almeno pare il senso dell'espressione *beneficio aliis damnoque impar est*), si interroga sul perché di questa situazione peculiare. La risposta, contenuta nella sezione da *quia a percurrit*, è che essi "nelle giornate lunghe vedono il sole ritornare ad oriente lungo l'orizzonte, mentre in quelle brevi il sole non viene visto da loro allo stesso modo che da noi, ma diversamente, perché corre lungo le costellazioni australi" (traduzione Grillone, *op. cit.*, p. 16). Il motivo di tale diversità andrebbe dunque cercato nel fatto che in queste aree il sole compie un movimento anomalo, talora addirittura inverso rispetto a quello cui siamo abituati nelle regioni europee centro-meridionali. Tale idea parrebbe ribadita e ulteriormente chiarita nella parte finale del passo, dove si rileva un contrasto tra ciò che è visibile nelle nostre regioni, ossia il sorgere del sole dal basso, e ciò che, a quanto si dice, avviene presso di loro, ovvero un movimento circolare del sole *per terrae marginem*. Questa spiegazione, che pare la più plausibile, trova tuttavia un ostacolo non marginale nella difficile collocazione semantico-sintattica del *quod* che introduce la sezione conclusiva (*quod ... uideatur ... surgere*). Nell'indice lessicale e grammaticale che accompagna la sua edizione, Mommsen (*op. cit.*, p. 196) spiega quest'uso con *cum uideatur*, suggerendo così un valore concessivo-avversativo della congiunzione ("mentre / benché a noi il sole sembra / sembri sorgere etc."). Quest'ipotesi, che trova riscontro nelle traduzioni di Martens (*Jordanes: Gothengeschichte*, Leipzig, 1884, p. 7: "während sie [sc. die Sonne] bei uns sich von unten zu erheben scheint"), Mierow (*The Gothic History of Jordanes*, Princeton, 1915, p. 56: "whereas to us the sun is seen to rise from below") e diversi altri, è stata anche accolta nella grammatica di J. B. Hofmann / A. Szantyr (p. 582), che parlano appunto di impiego di "*quod für cum adversativum*". Essi specificano, tuttavia, che si tratta di un uso raro e adducono come unico parallelo al nostro passo un verso del *Carmen Apologeticum* di Commodiano (517-518): *omnes iusti uates alia sunt morte perempti / quod Dominus ligno pependit, uoce Moysi*. Tuttavia, un'analisi più attenta rivela una sostanziale differenza sintattica tra questo esempio e quello di Giordane. In Commodiano infatti, in cui si rilevano due diversi soggetti in opposizione tra loro (*uates*,

Dominus), *quod* appare dopo la frase principale e sembra in effetti avere la stessa valenza avversativa di *cum*: “Tutti i buoni profeti sono stati uccisi con vari tipi di morte mentre (solo) il Signore fu appeso alla croce”. Questa peculiarità, peraltro, parrebbe favorita dall’*alia* che precede, per cui *quod* potrebbe anche avere valenza comparativa (*alia ... quod*), secondo un uso non raro nella tarda latinità. Il pensiero sotteso sarebbe dunque che i profeti sono andati incontro a tipi di morte diverse non solo tra loro ma anche rispetto a quella (unica nel suo genere) di Cristo. In Giordane invece si rileva un unico soggetto sintattico (*sol*) e *quod* è anteposto alla predicazione principale. Probabilmente consapevole di tali difficoltà, Grillone (*op. cit.*, p. 17) rimpiazza il *quod* tradito dalla prima e terza famiglia (*a, c*) con il *qui* presente nella seconda (*b*), riproponendo così una scelta da lui già adottata nell’edizione del 1991 (A. Grillone / F. Giunta, *Jordanis de origine actibusque Getarum*, Roma, p. 9). Il senso sarebbe quindi: “e quel sole (quello stesso sole) che a noi sembra sorgere dal basso, si dice che ruoti intorno a loro lungo il circuito della terra” (Si noti, peraltro, che nella versione italiana che accompagna il testo latino si legge “mentre (il sole) a noi sembra sorgere dal basso, si dice che etc.”, come se Grillone stesse traducendo un *quod* avversativo. Va altresì rilevato che l’*illos* edito da Mommsen (*illos per terrae eqs.*) e, a quanto pare, unanimemente trasmesso dai codici, è sostituito, nell’edizione di Grillone, dal dativo *illis* (“per loro”) senza alcun chiarimento o riferimento nell’apparato critico.) Questa soluzione si scontra però non solo con la maggior affidabilità della terza e soprattutto della prima famiglia rispetto alla seconda, ma soprattutto con la difficoltà semantica di dover ipotizzare una relativa restrittiva in riferimento a un elemento univocamente determinato quale il sole (“quel/il sole, che”), secondo un uso che non trova corrispondenti in Giordane. Il problema si può dunque risolvere mantenendo la lezione delle due migliori famiglie e ipotizzando che *quod* introduca una subordinata causale coordinata al *quia* di inizio paragrafo (*quia prolixioribus diebus eqs.*). Entrambe le congiunzioni introducono infatti due predicati (*quia ... uident ... conspiciuntur* e *quod ... uidetur ... dicitur*) che forniscono una risposta alla domanda iniziale sul perché gli Adogit si distinguono da altri popoli per i benefici e i danni derivanti dalle loro alternanze d’umore: *et hoc quare? quia ... et quod ...* Quest’ipotesi è supportata dalle vistose similarità strutturali delle frasi dipendenti da *quia* e *quod*. In entrambi i casi si individuano infatti le seguenti caratteristiche: (a) una congiunzione causale iniziale (*quia/quod*); (b) un’opposizione tra due elementi (pro)nominali (*prolixioribus diebus* vs. *breuioribus uero ~ nobis* vs. *illos*), cui si accompagna, sul piano dei predicati, la corrispondenza lessicale *uidet ~ uidetur* e quella di diatesi *conspiciuntur ~ dicitur*; (c) la centralità del sostantivo *sol*, coinvolto in entrambe le frasi introdotte da *quia* e *quod*, ma indicato soltanto nella prima delle due: *quia ...* (1) *solem ... uident redeuntem*, (2) *... conspiciuntur apud illos ... et quod* (1) *... uidetur sol ... surgere*, (2) *illos [così Mommsen] ... dicitur circuire*. Inoltre, la scelta di *quod* come subordinatore causale può essere facilmente spiegata in termini di *uariatio* sia rispetto al *quia* di inizio frase sia rispetto a quello immediatamente precedente, che chiarisce l’*aliter* antecedente (*sed aliter, quia austrinis signis percurrit*). Le succitate difficoltà sintattico-semantiche legate all’uso di *quod* si risolvono dunque attribuendo alla congiunzione valore causale e ipotizzando un’opposizione tra *nobis ... uidetur* e *illos ... dicitur* (quasi fossero congiunti da *uero, autem* etc.), facilmente desumibile dalla corrispondenza col testo introdotto da *quia*. La traduzione sarebbe dunque: “e perché questo? perché gli Adogit nelle giornate lunghe vedono il sole ritornare ad oriente lungo l’orizzonte ... e perché il sole a noi appare sorgere dal basso, (ma) si dice che ruoti intorno a loro lungo il circuito della terra”. Quest’interpretazione trova supporto in due passaggi nei quali si assiste a un’alternanza analoga (sebbene non identica) tra *quia* e *quod*, entrambi impiegati, come in *Get.* 20, con valenza causale: *Get.* 12: (Britannia) *mari tardo circumflum* (-a Grillone),

quod nec remis facile inpellentibus cedat, nec uentorum flatibus intumescat, credo, quia (intumescat: credo quia Grillone) *remotae longius terrae, causas motibus negant; Rom. 114: et quia omnium consulum nomina actosque conscribere et mihi tedium et tibi, qui legis, fastidio fore praecauit, aliqua exinde praelibans multa supersedi, quod pene a nonnullis iam usurpatum esse breuiatumque opus cognoui.*

Get. 23-24: Suetidi (Othsuetidi Grillone), cogniti in hac gente reliquis corpore eminentiores: *quamuis* et Dani (eminentiores quamuis, et Dani Grillone), ex ipsorum stirpe progressi, Herulos propriis sedibus expulerunt, qui inter omnes Scandiae nationes nomen sibi ob nimia proceritate affectant praecipuum. sunt *quamquam* et horum positura Grannii, Augandxi (Augandzi Grillone), Eunixi eqs. Nei due paragrafi in questione, come già nei precedenti, Giordane passa in rassegna le *multae et diuersae nationes* che abitano nell'isola di Scandia. Dopo aver menzionato gli Suetidi (o Othsuetidi) e i Dani, entrambi della stessa stirpe, l'autore cita vari altri popoli di cui si sa poco o niente (per informazioni più dettagliate si veda Grillone, *op. cit.*, p. 18s. e note). Di difficile interpretazione, in tale contesto, sono le due congiunzioni concessive *quamuis* e, soprattutto, *quamquam*. Quanto alla prima, Grillone (*op. cit.*, p. 289) ipotizza che essa sia da riferire all'aggettivo *eminentiores* e abbia valore "rafforzativo" ("ben più corpolenti rispetto agli altri"). Tale ipotesi, già avanzata nell'edizione del 1991 (Grillone / Giunta, *op. cit.*, p. 11) e adottata anche da Devillers nella sua traduzione (Jordanès. *Histoire des Goths, introduction, traduction, notes*, Paris, 1995, p. 11), presuppone un impiego classico della congiunzione, conforme al suo valore originario (*quam uis*). Va osservato, tuttavia, che quest'uso non è attestato altrove in Giordane e che quando la congiunzione ha funzione adnominale, essa è sistematicamente preposta all'aggettivo o avverbio cui si riferisce (per esempi, cf. G. Galdi, *Syntaktische Untersuchungen zu den Romana des Jordanes*, Hildesheim, 2013, p. 408-410). Sebbene dunque la scelta di Grillone / Giunta non possa essere scartata, appare indubbiamente preferibile quella di Mommsen, di considerare cioè *quamuis* come congiunzione subordinante seguita, qui come altrove, dall'indicativo (cf. Galdi, *op. cit.*, p. 411-412) e usata non con valore puramente concessivo, bensì con la funzione di aggiungere informazioni al testo che precede, precisandolo e limitandolo, come spesso avviene in epoca classica col *quamquam* 'correttivo'. Il pensiero soggiacente è dunque che, nonostante gli Suetidi godano di grande fama, i Dani, loro discendenti, non furono da meno: "gli Suetidi, ben noti tra questa gente, (sono) più corpolenti degli altri popoli; per quanto anche i Dani, provenienti dalla stessa stirpe, scacciarono gli Eruli dalle loro sedi" (si vedano anche le traduzioni di Martens, *op. cit.*, p. 8: "freilich haben auch die Dänen etc."; Mierow, *op. cit.*, p. 56s.: "however the Dani etc."). Più problematico è il caso di *quamquam*. Tutte le traduzioni moderne, infatti, concordano nell'attribuire a *positura* il significato geografico di "regione", "area" (sull'uso del termine in Giordane e sulla sua predilezione per gli astratti in *-ura*, si veda in particolare Grillone, *op. cit.*, p. 289, n. 130). Ora, poiché nelle righe che precedono il tema centrale è rappresentato dalla grandezza fisica di alcuni popoli scandinavi (Suetidi ... eminentiores, Dani ... ob nimia proceritate), *quamquam* sembrerebbe usata senza alcuna valenza concessiva o anche solo correttiva (non si evince infatti alcun rapporto logico tra la grandezza corporeale e l'area geografica). Essa rileverebbe dunque, a giudizio di Grillone (*op. cit.*, p. 289), "il passaggio da un periodo all'altro, come altre particelle o espressioni connettive" (si vedano anche le traduzioni di Martens, *op. cit.*, p. 8: "auch die Grannier"; Mierow, *op. cit.*, p. 57: "furthermore"). Si tratta, tuttavia, di un'ipotesi molto difficile da dimostrare, trattandosi dell'unica ricorrenza di *quamquam* nell'intera opera di Giordane, che impiega quasi sistematicamente *quamuis* come congiunzione concessiva (cf. Galdi, *op. cit.*, p. 414). Di gran lunga preferibile appare dunque la proposta suggerita dal ThLL (X/2, 91, 54-58), ma non accolta da alcun traduttore, di intendere *positura* nel senso di

“forma, aspetto fisico”, riferendolo alla lunga lista dei popoli che segue: “per quanto anche i Grannii, gli Augandzi etc. siano della medesima grandezza (forma fisica) di costoro [sc. degli Heruli]”. Questa soluzione consente di preservare sia lo stesso argomento discusso nel testo antecedente e ripreso poi nuovamente a fine paragrafo (*hae ... gentes, Germanis corpore et animo grandiores*), sia la comune valenza semantica di *quamquam*, qui indubbiamente restrittiva. Il fatto poi che questa sia l'unica ricorrenza della congiunzione in Giordane si potrebbe attribuire a desiderio di *uariatio* rispetto al *quamuis* che precede, anch'esso usato con valore restrittivo.

Get. 83: et quia (quidem Grillone) iam superius diximus eos (sc. Gothos) transito Danubio aliquantum temporis in Mysiam Thraciamque (Moesia Thraciaque Grillone) uixisse, ex (uixisse. et Grillone) eorum reliquiis fuit et Maximinus imp. post Alexandrum Mamaeae. Giordane si riallaccia qui alle notizie fornite al paragrafo 38, relative allo stanziamento dei Goti in Mesia e in Tracia (cf. *Get. 38: in Moesia Thraciaque ... legimus habitasse*), necessarie per introdurre la figura del futuro imperatore Massimino, originario proprio di quelle regioni. Problematica è la funzione del *quia*, perché non pare sussistere alcun rapporto di causalità tra il *quia ... diximus* (+ A.c.I.) introduttivo e la reggente *ex eorum reliquiis fuit et Maximinus*. Per questo motivo, il nesso *et quia* è stato ignorato in tutte le traduzioni moderne. Grillone attribuisce l'anomalia testuale a un errore prodottosi nella tradizione manoscritta e sostituisce quindi *et quia* trasmesso quasi unanimemente dai codici, con *et quidem*, presente solo nel Vratislaviensis (B). Si tratterebbe, secondo lui, di una “particella di passaggio in un contesto puramente narrativo, fra un'informazione precedente sui Goti in Tracia ... e quel che segue” (*op. cit.*, p. 332). Egli traduce dunque con “per la verità”, inserendo punto fermo dopo *uixisse*. Ora, lasciando da parte la questione puramente paleografica, vi sono una serie di motivi che inducono a respingere l'emendamento di Grillone. La particella *quidem*, infatti, al di fuori del nesso *si quidem*, che notoriamente è cosa ben diversa sin dal periodo classico, è sistematicamente impiegata da Giordane con la funzione di anticipare una frase avversativa, come ‘zwar’ in tedesco, secondo lo schema ricorrente *quidem ... sed, uero* etc. Inoltre, la giuntura *et quidem* non ricorre mai nei *Getica* e nei *Romana*, mentre *et quia* si riscontra otto volte, tutte all'inizio di un nuovo periodo, come nel passo in questione. Infine, *quia* è legato otto volte all'uso della prima persona, *quidem* mai. È dunque opportuno preservare l'*et quia* di Mommsen (e di quasi tutti i codici), ipotizzando una svista dell'autore che trova però facile spiegazione. Come infatti ben messo in luce da L. Bergmüller (*Einige Bemerkungen zur Latinität des Jordanes*, Augsburg, 1903, p. 22s.), Giordane adotta spesso nelle sue opere lo schema retorico di *transitio* o di *reditus ad propositum*. In entrambi i casi si osserva ripetutamente la seguente struttura: (a) (*et*) *quia* seguito dalla prima persona (o da un verbo impersonale il cui agente coincide con l'autore) in riferimento a cose già dette + (b) frase principale, anch'essa generalmente in prima persona o con verbo impersonale (*necessarium est nobis, non ab re arbitror, redeamus* etc.) + (c) prosiegua della narrazione; es. *Get. 56: et quia de eius continuatione pauca libabimus, ad Amazonas, unde diuertimus, redeamus* eqs.; 75: *et quia Danubii mentio facta est, non ab re iudico pauca de tali amne egregio indicare* (in entrambi i casi segue la narrazione). Data la frequenza e rigidità dello schema, è molto probabile che in *Get. 83*, che rappresenta appunto un caso di *reditus ad propositum*, l'autore abbia esordito con (a) (*et quia iam superius diximus*) e, forse distratto dall'A.c.I. che segue, sia passato inavvertitamente a (c), omettendo così di specificare il legame logico generalmente espresso da (b), che si può comunque sottendere nella traduzione: “e giacché abbiamo già detto sopra che i Goti, passato il Danubio, vissero per un certo periodo in Mesia e in Tracia, (è opportuno qui menzionare che) dalla loro stirpe discese anche Massimino”.

ceu forcipe guttura prensus in Ovid, met. IX 78

*dixerat et summo digitorum uincula collo
 inicit; angebar ceu guttura forcipe pressus
 pollicibusque meas pugnabam euellere fauces.*

This is the text of Tarrant in his *Oxoniensis* edition of 2004 on p. 254. The vast majority of the manuscripts, as well as all the editions of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* from the *principes* (1471) to the most recent one by Holzberg (2017) read *ceu guttura forcipe pressus*. However, the relevant technical phrase in the language of Roman medicine is *prendere / prehendere aliquid forcipe*, as attested by Celsus (VII, 7, 2 *si iam illa decedit solumque intus ferrum est, mucro uel digitis adprehendi uel forcipe atque ita educi debet*), Columella (VI, 26, 2 *duabus angustis ligneis regulis ueluti forcipibus apprehendere testium neruos*) and Palladius (VI 7, 1 *alii ligato ad machinam uitulo duabus angustis regulis stagneis sicut forcipibus ipsos neruos adprehendunt*). This phrase is also found in Virgil (*Aen.* XII, 404 *sollicitat prensatque [pressat in the 'codex Montalbanius'] tenaci forcipe ferrum* with Tarrant's commentary on p. 194) and in the *Metamorphoses* itself (VI, 556-567 *luctantemque loqui compressam forcipe linguam / abstulit ense fero*). N. Heinsius recorded the variant *prensus* in *Oxoniensis Bodl. Auct. S V 8*, p. 224 ('*prensus n*'), in *Berolinensis Diez 4° 1075*, f. 249^r ('*prensus unus meus. unus Basil. bene*') and in *Berolinensis Diez. 8° 1072*, f. 245^r ('*forcipe prensus cod. Menardi*'). I have not found *prensus* in any of Heinsius' 'codices mei' (B5 = *Berolinensis Deutsche Staatsbibl. Diez B Sant.* 13, s. xii/xiii; E = *Erfurtanus Bibl. Amplo. Fol.* 1, s. xii-xiii; O = *Oxoniensis Bodl. Auct. F.4.30*, s. xii; O4 = *Oxoniensis Bodl. Auct. F.4.22*, s. xiii¹; Gf4 = *Guelpherbytanus Bibl. Duc.* 3034 [13.9. Aug. 4°], s. xiii; P8 = *Parisinus Lat.* 8002, s. xiii; P9 = *Parisinus Lat.* 8006, s. xiii; O9 = *Oxoniensis Bodl. Rawl. G.* 103, s. xiv; O12 = *Oxoniensis Bodl. Add. C* 138, a. 1450-1460; O15 = *Oxoniensis Bodl. Canon. Class. Lat.* 3, s. xv; O17 = *Oxoniensis Bodl. Auct. F.2.3*, s. xv). The symbol *n* and the 'unus Basil.' correspond to Bs4 or *codex Basileensis Bibl. Pub. Univ. F.II.27*, s. xiii, f. 93^r, and *codex Menardi* is B8 or *Berolinensis Deutsche Staatsbibl. Diez B Sant.* 11, s. xiii, f. 70^v, where the reading is *ceu forcipe guttura prensus* (and not the paradosis *ceu guttura forcipe*), as proposed by Capoferreus (1659) and as noted by Heinsius himself on p. 224 of the *Oxoniensis* cited above. This is also the reading of O17 or *codex Oxoniensis Bodl. Auct. F.2.3*, s. xv, f. 97^v. Furthermore, owing to the graphic similarity *prensus* and *pressus* were easily confused in the codices, as is the case of the above-mentioned *compressam* of VI, 556, which alternates in the manuscripts with *compressam*, or *pressuras / prensuras* in *epist.* X, 10 *moui / Thesea pressuras semisupina manus*, where I believe the reading should be *prensuras* as in *fast.* V, 476 *lubrica prensantes effugit umbra manus*. Moreover, the repetition just a few lines above of the verb *premere* (IX, 45 *et frontem fronte premebam*, and IX, 60-61 *tum denique tellus / pressa genu nostro est*) may have had a subconscious influence on the copyist of the original archetype, since this error can clearly be traced back to the early stages of the textual transmission. In short, these lines should be translated as follows: Hercules in his confrontation with Achelous as described by the latter "finished speaking and set the constraint of his fingers around the top of my neck; I was being strangled as if by pincers (*angebar ceu forcipe guttura prensus*) and struggled to wrest my jaws from between his thumbs".

Antonio RAMÍREZ DE VERGER.

Comptes rendus

Bassir AMIRI (ed.), *Religion sous contrôle. Pratiques et expériences religieuses de la marge ?*, Besançon, Presses Universitaires de Franche-Comté, 2016 (Institut des Sciences et Techniques de l'Antiquité), 22 × 16 cm, 200 p., fig., 22 €, ISBN 978-2-84867-561-9.

Quello della norma in ambito religioso è un tema su cui gli studiosi si sono recentemente molto esercitati. Diversi sono i volumi pubblicati: dalla raccolta di studi relativa al mondo greco, curata da P. Brulé per i supplementi a *Kernos*, *La norme en matière religieuse en Grèce ancienne* (Liège / Athènes, 2009) a quella, di poco successiva, dovuta all'iniziativa di B. Cabouret e M.-O. Charles-Laforge, *La norme religieuse dans l'Antiquité* (Paris, 2011), fino all'ultima edita sotto la direzione di T. Itgenshorst / P. Le Doze, *La norme sous la République et le Haut-Empire romains. Élaboration, diffusion et contournements* (Bordeaux, 2017) con un dossier incentrato proprio su *Normes et religions* (p. 201-372). A fare da cornice concettuale ai casi-studio raccolti all'interno di questi volumi vi è, in primo luogo, una questione di definizione di quel che costituisce la "norma" nel quadro di religioni non dogmatiche e che non contemplavano alcuna forma di verità rivelata. La risposta, quasi corale, è stata quindi quella di volgersi all'indagine sulle norme sociali di cui spesso le pratiche religiose sono lo specchio. Il volume qui recensito affronta la medesima tematica, seppure da una prospettiva volutamente eccentrica: non quella della norma nelle pratiche religiose, ma quella della devianza (su cui in particolare J. Rüpke, *Superstition ou individualité : déviance religieuse dans l'Empire romain*, Bruxelles 2015); non quella del centro, ma quella del margine. La questione oggetto di indagine all'interno di questa raccolta di contributi, è l'esito di un incontro tenutosi, nel novembre 2015. La nozione di margine al centro dei saggi qui proposti viene definita proprio a partire dallo "scarto" volontario o involontario che riguarda classi particolari di individui rispetto alle "norme dominanti" (p. 11). L'indagine si concentra, attraverso una serie di casi-studio, sulle esperienze religiose vissute da coloro che, per scelta o per condizione sociale, rientrano nella categoria degli "esclusi". Si tratta della prima tappa di un progetto che, in questa fase, non ha potuto prendere in considerazione specifiche categorie sociali come i bambini o i pellegrini o altre forme di marginalità politica o geografica, pur ammettendo che da esse possono dipanarsi altrettante piste di ricerca. I contributi qui raccolti invece esplorano forme di marginalità articolate su tre assi principali: il primo è incentrato sulle pratiche religiose del margine, per lo più, all'interno dei culti cosiddetti "orientali", considerati tali in ragione della loro provenienza geografica; il secondo esamina la partecipazione ai riti religiosi da parte di specifiche classi di devoti, individuate come marginali, per statuto specifico, quali le donne o gli schiavi; il terzo asse infine esplora la nozione di marginalità in relazione all'emergere delle prime comunità cristiane nel mondo romano. Aprono la prima sezione due contributi (Y. Lehmann, *Varron et les cultes gréco-orientaux. Étude de sociologie religieuse*, p. 19-28, e A. Rolle, *Ego medicina Serapi utor. Les Ménippées de Varron et le culte de Sérapis dans la Rome tardo-républicaine*, p. 29-40), dedicati alla posizione di Varrone nei confronti dei cosiddetti "culti orientali": entrambi i saggi mettono in evidenza quanto spesso la critica di Varrone verso questi culti e i suoi adepti sia strumentale, talora motivata da ragioni politiche o dal ruolo stesso rivestito dal Reatino nell'ambito della società romana del suo tempo. Segue il contributo di G. Freyburger,

Pratique végétarienne et marginalité à Rome, p. 41-47, in cui l'esame dei versi 122-142 del XV libro delle *Metamorfosi* di Ovidio suggerisce all'Autore che l'ostilità cui, nel mondo romano, erano vittima i pitagorici è dovuta al loro essere vegetariani e alla critica rivolta al sacrificio cruento che il poeta latino fa pronunciare a Pitagora. Il sacrificio cruento e il banchetto che ad esso si accompagnava era ancora a quel tempo specchio del ruolo rivestito da ciascun partecipante all'interno della compagine sociale. Pertanto, la critica rivolta dai pitagorici a questa pratica fondamentale della religione tradizionale assumeva una portata potenzialmente destrutturante, tanto che l'Autore arriva persino a formulare l'ipotesi che i versi veicolino una precisa convinzione personale del poeta da mettere in relazione con l'esilio cui egli fu condannato poco dopo la pubblicazione della sua opera. Chiude questa sezione l'articolo di F. van Haepere, *Des affranchi(e)s parmi les prêtres publics de Rome et des cités d'Italie : réflexions préliminaires*, p. 49-63, che mostra come, a dispetto della *lex Visellia* del 24 d.C. che escludeva gli schiavi affrancati dall'accesso alle magistrature municipali, alcuni affrancati imperiali compaiono invece come sacerdoti o sacerdotesse della Magna Mater, di *Bona dea* e di Iside. La seconda sezione del volume, riferita a forme di marginalità per statuto e per genere, si apre con due contributi dedicati all'integrazione degli schiavi all'interno della religione civica dei Romani. Se il primo saggio di B. Amiri, *La religion des esclaves : entre visibilité et invisibilité*, p. 65-75, mostra come agli schiavi fosse assegnato il ruolo di "attore secondario" (p. 74) all'interno dei rituali che tuttavia permettevano loro di condividere un'esperienza religiosa e adottare una serie di comportamenti socialmente approvati dal corpo civico; il secondo invece di A. Binsfeld, *Esclaves et affranchis comme acteurs religieux : l'exemple de la Belgique et de la Germanie Supérieure*, p. 77-95, concentra il fuoco dell'indagine sulle aree di Treviri e Magonza e sottolinea come il paesaggio locale testimoni dello sforzo di integrazione condotto da schiavi e affrancati per iscriverne la propria presenza nello spazio. Chiudono questa seconda sezione due indagini sul ruolo delle donne nelle pratiche religiose: D. Šterbenc-Erker, *Les pratiques religieuses des matrones dans la Rome ancienne : les Jeux séculaires sous Auguste et Septime Sévère*, p. 97-115, esamina sul filo delle testimonianze epigrafiche, le attività svolte dalle matrone romane nell'ambito dei *Ludi saeculares*; L. Beaurin, *Le culte d'Isis dans l'Occident romain : un culte de femmes ?*, p. 117-140, torna invece sul culto di Iside per esplorare una forma di marginalità al quadrato, ovvero quella delle donne che partecipavano ai rituali dedicati alla dea. Pur essendo un culto a carattere misto, all'interno della quale la partecipazione femminile andrebbe ridimensionata, le donne, che cercavano nella sfera religiosa una via di fuga dal controllo maschile, vi trovavano la possibilità di accedere a un'esperienza particolare come quella dell'iniziazione che consentiva loro, proprio in quanto iniziate, una possibilità di promozione sociale. I contributi dell'ultima sezione esaminano la marginalità del cristianesimo delle origini. C. Stein, *Le premier christianisme, une religion de marginaux*, p. 141-160, sottolinea come, fino al III sec. d.C., la condizione di coloro che si convertivano al cristianesimo conducesse a una rapida lacerazione dei vincoli sociali: il rifiuto di partecipare ai sacrifici e alle feste collocava l'individuo automaticamente ai margini della comunità civica e lo rendeva sospetto agli occhi dei suoi concittadini che della devozione verso gli dèi tradizionali avevano fatto un elemento identitario e una garanzia di pace e stabilità per l'intera comunità civica. B. Decharneux, *La mise à la marge des chrétiens par Lucien de Samosate : l'exemple de Pérégrinos*, p. 161-171, esplora i tratti dell'identità del cristianesimo delle origini attraverso la lente deformante di un intellettuale di frontiera come Luciano di Samosata. L'ultimo contributo della sezione di M. Ghetta, *La fin du paganisme durant l'Antiquité tardive et les derniers païens en Gaule et Germanie*, p. 173-187, rovescia la prospettiva proponendo un'indagine regionale in cui la Germania e la Gallia del

III sec. d.C. fanno da cornice ai cambiamenti che coinvolgono la religione tradizionale e il destino di coloro che definisce quali “ultimi pagani”. L’analisi delle iscrizioni e delle fonti, relative ancora una volta alla città di Treviri, rivelano il perdurare di una devozione religiosa nei confronti degli dèi pagani. Le conclusioni di B. Poulle chiudono questo volume in cui la sequenza dei saggi illustra la fluidità di categorie come margine e centro e il loro trasformarsi e rovesciarsi tanto sull’asse diacronico, quanto su quello sincronico, in un continuo risponderci e riflettersi tra sfera religiosa e sociale.

Daniela BONANNO.

Ernst BALTRUSCH / Hans KOPP / Christian WENDT (ed.), *Seemacht, Seeherrschaft und die Antike*, Stuttgart, F. Steiner, 2016 (Historia-Einzelschriften, 244), 24 × 16 cm, 348 p., 64 €, ISBN 978-3-515-11431-8.

This collection of articles results from the international conference held in the Freie Universität Berlin in December 2013. Earlier research in sea power and naval supremacy in the ancient world includes studies in military history, social history, history of ideas, etc., and canonized topics such as the 5th-century Athens, Carthage until the First Punic War, Rome, Rhodes, and lesser sea powers (Sparta and Persia). The editors point out the need for a larger synthesis of the role of seafaring in the ancient world and present this collection of articles as the new beginning in that direction. 1) Hans Kopp, “Thalassokratie: Zur historischen Semantik und Wirkungsgeschichte eines Hilfsbegriffs”, shows that in online discussions among computer game players the concept of thalassocracy is by no means clear – and it is not clear in the academic discussion either. In lexica and dictionaries thalassocracy has been given various definitions and besides the ancient world, it has been used for the empires built by Venice or Portugal or for the power exercised by Great Britain and the USA. Kopp goes back to the ancient sources (Strabo and the Thucydides-Scholia), analyzing how the words *thalassokratia* and *tes thalasses kratin* – *thalassokratein* have been developed and used. Kopp also discusses word formation in the Greek language, in particular of *ippokratia*, *naukratia*, etc. 2) Michael Rathmann, “Das Meer bei den antiken Geografen”, deals with the awareness the Ionian natural philosophers had of the sea and its limits, as well as the introduction of longitude and latitude and the measuring of the size of the globe in the 3rd century BC by Dikaiarchos of Messene and Eratosthenes of Cyrene. Rathmann notices that in the *Periplus maris Erythraei* and the journey of Eudoxus of Cyzicus to India, no information is given about cliffs close to the ports and no accurate data are provided about tidal range, the current, the weather and the provisioning, etc. However, this does not necessarily mean that these observations were intentionally concealed from competitors; such practical knowledge was probably transmitted, as oral tradition only, by the crews who sailed along the coasts – coastal sailing was preferred because of the daily need for anchoring to get water, food, rest, and protection from sudden storms. 3) Christian Wendt, “Piraterie als definitorisches Moment von Seeherrschaft”, deals with the interesting phenomenon where the leading navy in a particular area was labeled as “pirates” by its critics because it had such an overwhelming power. (For instance Demosthenes on Philip II, Tacitus and Sallust writing about Rome’s expansion, the raiding and taking of war booty, *latrones gentium*.) Taking examples from Thucydides, Polybius and Cicero, Wendt examines how they write about piracy and sea power. 4) Barry Strauss, “Thucydides, Polybius and Mahan on Sea Power”, discusses Alfred Thayer Mahan’s theory of sea power, published in 1890 and 1892, about how the use and control of the sea has been a great factor in the history of the world. The theory was well received and applied by modern states, yet Admiral Bridge argued in 1910 that Mahan’s theory had actually been expressed by

Thucydides already. Strauss states that Thucydides was not an advocate of sea power along the lines of Mahan. It needs to be stressed that the nature of ancient sea power was different from the modern: fleets and ships worked as a part of the army, transporting supplies, infantry and cavalry to coasts where it was safe to land; actual sea battles only took place when two about equally strong fleets fought for the control of a particular coast or a port. Therefore, the army and navy were not two separate forces that would compete for the politicians' attention and funding the way it happens in the modern world. 5) Kurt A. Raaflaub, "„Arche“, „Reich“ oder „athenischer Groß-Staat“? Zum Scheitern integrativer Staatsmodelle in der griechischen Poliswelt des 5. und frühen 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.", discusses models for integration starting from the suggestion made by Thales for the Ionians and the reform of Cleisthenes in Athens. The mastery of complicated political thinking that lies behind these attempts also made possible the creation of the Delian League, whose funds Athens then used to finance its own sea power. Raaflaub traces the intention of the Athenians: when and how did the idea of becoming the first city in Greece come about? He also deals with the formation of the Roman governance. 6) Julia Wilker, "‘That All Your Security Depends on the Sea’: the Concept of Hegemony at Sea in fourth century Athens", notices that almost all the debates recorded in literature about Athens' policy in the Aegean and the strength of its fleet had to do with the Athenian defense and security. The control of grain routes was also an issue, and, thanks to its hegemonic position, Athens was able to restrict the sailing and trade of its enemies. Wilker argues that, with the formation of the Second Athenian League, Athens had no direct financial gain; its main objective was to get prestige and reputation among other Greeks. Here we should add that the allies, even if they did not provide the funds for the Athenian fleet the way it had been done in the Delian League, nevertheless favored the Athenian hegemony by giving access to their ports and bases. 7) Raimund Schulz, "Das Meer im strategischen Denken der Römischen Republik", goes through the development of the Roman republican navy and the big turning points from the beginning of the republic to the battle of Actium. When and how did the Romans first envisage using a fleet as a part of their expansionist strategy, why did they go to Sicily in 264 and why did they get involved in another war with Philip right after the Second Punic War? Schulz finds plausible reasons in grain trade and Rome's need to secure transports for its growing population. Many issues raised by this paper would require more discussion. Warships confiscated from Antium in 334 did not form the core of Rome's first coastal fleet; Rome already had ships and they were used under the motive of fighting piracy. Moreover, the building of the Carthaginian war harbor after the Second Punic War does not attest to the increased power of the Punic fleet, but needs to be seen as a last attempt to defend the city. 8) There are examples in history of how a major power for a limited period of time creates a strong interest for sea, for instance China in the 15th century, and the Ottoman empire in the 16th century, but also the Persian empire at the beginning of the 5th century BC. These periods for strong sea power were short, due to the huge demand of personnel and material costs. Bernhard Linke, "Die Republik und das Meer. Seerüstung und römische Innenpolitik zur Zeit der Punischen Kriege", investigates the recruitment of crews in the First and Second Punic War and how Rome managed from 260 on to fulfill these demands and what kind of far-reaching and often underrated effects this had in the Roman society. In the 240's, the Roman fleets making raids to Africa were run by private enterprise; Linke sees the conquest of Corsica after the First Punic War as another area where private enterprise took place. 9) The city of Sparta, located 46 kilometers from sea, was known in the ancient world as the opposite to Athens, a land power who could make a living from agriculture and had no urgent need of being involved in sea borne trade. Martin Dreher, "Die

Seemacht Sparta”, discusses the less known moments of Spartan seafaring, the founding of Tarentum, the military assistance sent to Croesus in Lydia, and the Greek cities in Asia Minor; moreover, the Spartan nauarchos Eurybiades served in the fleet assembled by the Athenians in the war against Xerxes. Many interesting examples follow from the Peloponnesian War, including the burning of the Spartan shipyard. For a short period of time at the beginning of the 4th century, we can actually speak of Sparta as an important sea power who controlled the Aegean and Ionian Sea. To begin with, the Spartans deployed pentecontors and moved on to building triremes in the Persian War. The Laconian port of Gytheon figures in history as late as in 194 B.C., when the Romans together with Pergamene and Rhodian ships forced King Nabis to give up his fleet except for two *lembi*. 10) Monika Schuol, “Jüdische Seemacht”, discusses the evidence of Jewish sea power. During the time of David and Solomon and the separate kingdoms of Judah and Israel, the coastal plain was at the hands of the Philistines and Sidon and Tyros up north belonged to the Phoenicians. Yet, the Book of Kings mention the Tarschisch-expedition of Solomon to the west as well as journeys to the Red Sea and the Horn of Africa. These were, according to Schuol, joint ventures with the Phoenicians. Schuol goes through the periods with Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid states, Alexander the Great and the Diadochi, the Maccabees and Hasmoneans, Pompeius, Herodes and the Jewish revolts. For many periods it is typical that there was no space for independent foreign relations; the expansion on the coast under Alexander Jannaios (103-76 B.C) makes the only period when we can speak of an expansive Jewish Sea power. 11) Cyrus II transformed Persia from a less important land power to a great empire which also came to control Asia Minor up to Lycia and the Greek coastal cities. The contingents from subdued cities in Phoenician coast, Ionia, Caria and the Aegean islands formed the fleet. Sabine Müller, “Die Perser und das Meer: Eine Analyse der Inschriften der frühen Perserkönige”, studies the fleet policy and the control of maritime space in the ideology and the ruler presentation in the early Persian empire. Her investigation is based on inscriptions, focusing mainly on the period of the Teispids and the rule of Darius I (522-486) as they created the ways of presentation that their successors followed. Müller also takes up evidence from Egypt, the long time enemy. Müller discusses meanings: sea as a symbol for geographic limit, sea as a symbol for the theoretical world domination, control of the sea as a sign for dominion legitimized by the gods, and many others. 12) Monika Trümper, “Delos as Center of Athenian ‘Sea power’ – An Archaeological Perspective”, discusses the archaeologically visible Athenian influence on Delos in two periods, from 478 to 314 when Athens made it the centre of the Delian League and after 167/166, when the Romans had taken Delos and made it a free port, giving its control to the Athenians. Trümper makes a reassessment of recent published fieldwork and research, and sheds light on the debate of the significance of Delos as a trade port, its infrastructure and size and whether it ever was capable of accommodating the international large-scale trade as it is suggested in Strabo. Trümper points out the gaps – that detailed studies of the Bouleuterion, Prytaneion and many other central monuments are still missing. Likewise, a systematic discussion about cultural influences and exchange remains to be done to answer the question of active Athenian involvement and influences on Delos or whether there was a voluntary adoption by the Delians of Athenian cultural achievements and hallmarks. 13) Of all the Hellenistic navies we have most information on Rhodes. Polybius used local Rhodian historians as sources; besides, there is also a good collection of inscriptions, including about 40 published career inscriptions. The inscription of one Polycles shows how he started in his twenties, doing service in aphracts and cataphracts, then eventually becoming in his sixties a trierarch of a quadrireme. Daniel Kah, “Rhodos als Seemacht”, discusses the organization of the fleet, the number of ships that

participated in operations and the position Rhodes had in the international politics. Relying on the study of inscriptions, Kah states that kataphract ships were used at war, but that aphract ships were not. Yet, in Polybius and Livy we can find different evidence: in the fleet of Philip in 201 at Chios both types of ships participated in battle; in 200, Rhodian quadriremes together with Athenian aphracts protected the coast; moreover, in 198, the fleet of Rome, Pergamum and Rhodes in campaign against Philip consisted of *tectae naues* and *apertae naues* as well as some *lembi*. 14) Virginia Fabrizi, "Space, Vision and the Friendly Sea: Scipio's Crossing to Africa in Livy's Book 29", writes of Rome's invasion in Africa in 204 led by P. Cornelius Scipio, and argues that Livy made a conscious choice in giving a detailed description of the departure from Lilybaeum and the crossing to Africa (the boarding of the men, people from all of Sicily coming to see the fleet, the auspices taken, and the sailing conditions listed during the crossing), because it embodied Rome's rise to Mediterranean power. In my view, the detailed information is perhaps not just Livy's literary choice, but also tells of the amount of eyewitness material available in Livy's sources. To compare, Livy's battle descriptions for the battle on the African coast in 208 – the biggest sea battle in the Second Punic War – and again in 207 are very short, because of lack of information; yet the losses the Carthaginians then suffered probably explain why there was no attempt to stop Scipio from crossing in 204. 15) The word *naumachia* is used in ancient literature for many different things: an actual sea battle, fleet maneuver, a spectacle, a place for such spectacles, etc. In Greek, it is being used for the first time by Herodotus, in Latin by Lucilius. Ernst Baltrusch, "„Hier war doch eben noch Land“ – Naumachien in Rom", shows that starting from the third century B.C., exhibition fights were part of Roman culture, used for training, making a showcase of power, self-assertion before a sea battle, or a ritual remembrance of a victory at sea. The habit was therefore already rooted in the Roman culture when Julius Caesar and Augustus started arranging them. Baltrusch goes through the detailed information we have of these events in sources, the locations and the reasons why they were arranged also by Claudius, Nero, Titus and Domitian and why they were arranged for the last time in Trajan's period, which anyway marked the culmination point of Roman expansion. This publication is rich in topics and gives much to think about. It comes with an extensive bibliography and index.

Christa STEINBY.

Neil W. BERNSTEIN, *Seneca: Hercules furens*, London / Oxford / New York / New Delhi / Sydney, Bloomsbury, 2017 (Bloomsbury Companions to Greek and Roman Tragedy), 22 × 14 cm, 152 p., 65,99 \$, ISBN 978-1-4742-5492-2.

Ce *Bloomsbury Companion* consacré à l'*Hercule Furieux* de Sénèque est modeste par sa taille, mais condense avec efficacité un grand nombre de pistes de lecture fort stimulantes et parfaitement au fait de la dernière critique. Il servira à des chercheurs confirmés comme à des novices en matière de théâtre antique : le propos est structuré et se lit aisément. Le commentaire thématique est assorti d'outils pédagogiques : la bibliographie, essentielle, est essentiellement anglo-saxonne ; des lectures complémentaires sont suggérées et brièvement commentées ; la chronologie, de la naissance de Sénèque à la dernière adaptation de la pièce au cinéma (2014), mêle des jalons de la biographie de Sénèque, de l'histoire éditoriale, de l'histoire des représentations théâtrales et de la réception de l'*Hercule Furieux* dans les autres arts (cinéma, télévision, jeu vidéo) ; un index et un glossaire complètent le tout. Dès la préface, le lecteur est guidé par un résumé de chaque chapitre et par l'annonce des problématiques majeures. Le chapitre 1, introduisant la pièce, examine une à une les grandes unités d'action, en alliant synthèse des mouvements dramatiques et remarques plus précises. Ainsi, l'intertexte virgilien est

déjà mentionné à la p. 2 ; les chœurs bénéficient de notes sur la métrique et de renvois à la lyrique horatienne (p. 9) ; on trouvera des analyses dramaturgiques sur la composition du chœur (p. 4), les apartés (p. 7). Le texte est ainsi abordé de multiples biais, auxquels il faut ajouter des notes stylistiques et rhétoriques (p. 10), des questions philosophiques (p. 14-15) renvoyant aux traités cicéroniens. Le chapitre 2 présente les thématiques majeures de la pièce et dégage d'emblée son intérêt principal, en disant que la tension dramatique ne naît pas de l'ignorance de l'issue des événements, mais du spectacle des personnages en proie à leurs conflits. La première section, sur la folie et les passions, rappelle les grandes positions de la critique actuelle, qui se divise sur la question des moteurs externes ou internes de la folie d'Hercule, et rappelle les points de vue des personnages, chœur, Junon, Lycus, Amphitryon et Mégare, tout aussi conflictuels et irréductibles. La section sur la bravoure, la violence et le suicide établit des liens avec la philosophie de Sénèque et les conceptions de ses contemporains comme Lucain. La question de l'origine ancestrale et de l'identité, passionnante, relie les représentations idéologiques des personnages dramatiques à celles du public de Sénèque. L'un des mérites majeurs du livre trouve là un bon exemple : l'exploration se fait toujours dans le contexte de l'histoire culturelle, sociale et politique. La dernière section travaille l'évocation des paysages comme étant des états d'âme, en expliquant et en interprétant à la fois ces descriptions, en mettant en valeur leurs implications éthiques. Le chapitre 3 explore les trois rôles principaux que la tradition antique a attribués à Hercule : vainqueur de monstres, exemple moral, fou furieux. C'est donc l'occasion de voir ce que Sénèque a intégré des sources dramatiques et non dramatiques, tragiques et comiques, grecques et latines (Homère, Euripide, Aristophane, Plaute, pour la figure de ce héros ambigu ; les *Problèmes* du Pseudo-Aristote, pour la théorie de la folie) mais aussi iconographiques (cratère en calice d'Asteas, c. 350 av. J.-C.). C'est aussi l'occasion d'interroger le lien entre la figure du héros dramatique et les « nouveaux modes héroïques » qu'il revêt dans la Rome augustéenne (assimilations entre Hercule et Énée, entre Hercule et Auguste, chez Horace, Virgile) ; de comparer la folie de Junon chez Ovide et chez Sénèque. La dernière section s'attache au héros post-augustéen, c'est-à-dire sénéquien, en soulignant les traits empruntés et les traits originaux : là comme ailleurs, on mesure combien la création artistique latine est le produit de la compétition avec les prédécesseurs, synthétisés dans une adaptation qui appelle la reconnaissance de la part du public. On est ensuite amené à replacer *Hercule Furieux* dans la carrière de Sénèque : dans la chronologie de ses œuvres, dans sa pensée philosophique et politique, grâce à quelques extraits de textes choisis avec pertinence. N. Bernstein propose de placer la composition de la pièce près de celle de l'*Apocoloquintose*, parodie de Claude et de sa propre tragédie, qui a pu être jouée aux *Saturnalia* de décembre 54 (Claude étant mort au mois d'octobre), ce qui implique de placer une bonne part des autres œuvres de Sénèque après cette date (*Epistulae*, majorité d'autres essais philosophiques et d'autres tragédies). C'est une hypothèse vraisemblable, d'autant que la critique, dont N. Bernstein lui-même, s'accorde pour voir dans ces œuvres moins une évolution qu'une continuité de pensée, qui développe divers motifs dans des contextes renouvelés. L'art du tragédien est ensuite relié à l'histoire du genre à Rome, et il est heureux de ne pas lire dans ces lignes le topos du déclin de la tragédie, mais d'y apprécier la vitalité qui a précédé Sénèque et ce qu'il a – notamment – légué à la Renaissance : le thème de la vengeance. Les dernières pages pointent avec précision et clairvoyance les échos entre la tragédie et les propres œuvres, prose ou théâtre, de Sénèque, ainsi qu'entre la tragédie et d'autres textes antiques (Xénophon, Cicéron, Hérodote, Lucrèce), mettant en parallèle divers aspects d'Hercule : le modèle exemplaire, le personnage enragé, l'attitude face aux revirements de fortune. Le dernier chapitre arrive à traiter la question de la performance et de la réception de la

pièce sans établir un fastidieux catalogue, mais en tenant compte des problématiques précédemment évoquées. En partant de la reconstruction de la scène et des conditions de représentation du temps de Sénèque, l'auteur formule des propositions mesurées, loin du débat passionné mais daté et stérile opposant tenants de la *recitatio* / lecture publique et tenants de la représentation. On retiendra en particulier celles qui intègrent les rapprochements récents entre la tragédie de Sénèque et l'art de la pantomime. On effectue pour finir un saut dans le temps vers ce que devient Hercule à la Renaissance, à l'époque moderne et même contemporaine. Cette dernière section développe la richesse que la chronologie avait laissé entrevoir : sont abordées des reprises dans de multiples domaines artistiques, qui montrent combien les questions de la violence, du traumatisme, de la folie, sont encore prégnantes et comment elles sont ou non revisitées, la dernière tendance des média populaires contemporains étant justement d'éviter l'épisode de la folie.

Pascale PARÉ-REY.

Anne BIELMAN SÁNCHEZ / Isabelle COGITORE / Anne KOLB (ed.), *Femmes influentes dans le monde hellénistique et à Rome (III^e siècle avant J.-C. – I^{er} siècle après J.-C., Grenoble, ELLUG – Université Grenoble Alpes, 2016 (Des Princes), 23 × 15 cm, 260 p., 25 €, ISBN 978-2-84310-327-8.*

Parmi les études de genre qui fleurissent pour le moment, celles qui s'intéressent à la politique et au pouvoir souverain dans l'antiquité ne sont pas légion. C'est à ce type de recherches qu'est consacré cet ouvrage collectif qui rassemble des contributions traitant de la relation des femmes au pouvoir hellénistique et romain, en grande partie – mais non exclusivement – des femmes de pouvoir, relevant des dynasties. C'est ainsi qu'il faut comprendre le concept de « femmes influentes » qui ne va pas de soi, car les femmes peuvent avoir eu également une influence sur la vie civique ou la vie économique par exemple. L'organisation du groupe de recherches a été originale, qui a réuni une première fois les participants autour des thèmes hellénistiques, les romanistes étant à la critique, puis une deuxième fois pour une situation inverse. Toutes les contributions ont fait l'objet donc d'exposés et de débats qui ont évité dilution ou dispersion des projets. Pas moins de 22 thématiques ont été recommandées, la plupart abordées avec plus ou moins d'approfondissement. Le volume qui est issu de ces rencontres se divise en deux parties, chacune dotée *in fine* d'une synthèse des résultats. Le premier volet est dévolu à la mise en évidence des atouts de la réussite féminine dans le domaine du pouvoir, de l'État, de la politique. La part hellénistique y est prédominante, les situations des royaumes se prêtant bien à la part d'influence des femmes dans la perspective dynastique. Les différentes communications traitent de la reine Apamè, au cœur du royaume séleucide (M. Widmer), des deux veuves d'Antiochos II, Laodicè et Bérénice, qui permettent de définir les rôles féminins en l'absence du pouvoir principal masculin (M. D'Agostini), de l'image littéraire des filles de rois hellénistiques d'après l'œuvre de Justin (J. Bartels), enfin du monnayage provincial romain de l'époque triumvirale et julio-claudienne portant des profils féminins (F. Delrieux et M.-C. Ferrière) en tant que contribution à l'installation d'un pouvoir monarchique et à la notion de dynastie au départ du régime républicain. L'évocation de ces titres montre à suffisance que la matière romaine se prêtait moins bien à l'exercice, le poids effectif de l'action féminine au travers de l'iconographie et des légendes monétaires n'ayant aucune commune mesure avec celui des femmes des cours hellénistiques. Le dernier article concerne une question un peu particulière. Au travers des exemples de Livilla et de Messaline, F. Cenerini examine le rôle qu'auraient pu exercer ces dames de l'entourage impérial (elles ne sont *Augustae* ni l'une ni l'autre, aussi le titre de la contribution « Il matrimonio con un' Augusta » est un peu trompeur)

sur la possibilité, pour Séjan et pour C. Silius, de devenir empereur. On est un peu dans le roman car aucun de ces hypothétiques mariages n'a eu lieu ; en outre, personnellement, je considère la rumeur de projet matrimonial de Messaline avec son amant Silius précisément comme une rumeur, voire comme une calomnie. A. Bielman Sánchez propose ensuite une synthèse de la première partie dans laquelle elle met en évidence et développe certains thèmes abordés plus ou moins explicitement dans les articles, à savoir la capacité légitimatrice des femmes et l'effet des mariages, selon qu'ils fussent endogamiques ou exogamiques, mais aussi celui que pouvaient revêtir les honneurs conférés aux femmes, y compris la divinisation ; la dépendance ou l'indépendance vis-à-vis de leur famille et l'instrumentalisation de leur parentèle ; leurs possibles réseaux – un thème très à la mode à travers tous les domaines de l'histoire antique. La seconde partie concerne « l'exercice du pouvoir par les femmes ». Pour l'époque hellénistique, les exemples se limitent à Cléopâtre I et II chez les Lagides (A. Bielman Sánchez et G. Lenzo) ; en fait bien des contributions de la première partie couvraient déjà cette thématique. J'avoue que j'attendais, du côté romain, une étude approfondie de la personnalité de l'impératrice Livie qui représente à mes yeux le cas le plus actif de l'époque julio-claudienne. On ne trouvera au mieux que des allusions, le propos étant largement républicain. En effet c'est à Hortensia, la fille du grand orateur, et à son action dans le cadre de l'épisode de 42 où les triumvirs voulaient s'emparer de la richesse des femmes pour financer leurs campagnes que T. M. Lucchelli et F. Rohr Vio consacrent une analyse originale. C'est en effet une histoire intéressante, où l'on peut chercher à décrypter les buts avoués ou non de ce projet masculin et de la révolte féminine, à laquelle les auteurs donnent, bien au-delà de la question de la sauvegarde de l'argent pour les femmes elles-mêmes, une coloration politique de protection des familles des proscrits, tandis qu'Octave et compagnie cherchent à affaiblir au maximum le camp adverse, républicain. Remontant dans le temps, C. Kunst répertorie toute une série d'interventions féminines dans le courant de la République pour faire apparaître quelles étaient les formes de ces actions qui se produisaient en temps de crise, seul moment où les mentalités romaines permettaient une transgression des principes d'incapacité politique. La liste est longue, même si les épisodes sont brièvement connus et de natures différentes, que ce soit la spectaculaire arrivée de Magna Mater grâce à Claudia, le rôle de Terentia vis-à-vis de Cicéron ou les actions de Fulvie auprès d'Antoine, par exemple. Interventions publiques ou interventions privées, les deux contextes existent et jouent une part complémentaire dans l'histoire. C'est l'occasion de se pencher plus en détail sur le processus de la *supplicatio* qui était souvent, aussi, un mode d'action des femmes, comme ainsi les prières de Livie au bénéfice de Plancine dans le procès de Pison. Le dernier article traite des sœurs, un thème un peu latéral chez les Romains à la différence des royaumes hellénistiques qui intégraient les sœurs parmi les épouses. C'est à Octavie, sœur d'Octave, puis aux sœurs de Caligula que s'attache L. Burckhardt en comparaison avec Bérénice, la sœur d'Hérode Agrippa II. La section se clôture avec une seconde synthèse, due à la plume de A. Kolb, qui résume les apports de chacun. Une conclusion générale ensuite referme le volume, en forme de bilan des acquis et des manques ; elle montre combien il serait utile de poursuivre la recherche. Un point commun de l'ensemble des contributions est l'ouverture d'une fenêtre aux actions féminines en matière de souveraineté, de pouvoir ou de politique, en temps de crise. Du point de vue romain, on soulignera la pertinence de la dernière remarque de A. Bielman Sánchez : « les femmes pouvaient avoir de l'influence, accomplir des actions remarquables, jouer un rôle légitimateur, disposer de ressources économiques importantes et d'un tissu étendu de relations. Toutefois cette influence ne pouvait pas et ne devait pas être confondue avec l'autorité qui était une qualité strictement masculine ». Au total, l'ouvrage apporte un éclairage renouvelé

sur la place des femmes dans la vie politique de l'antiquité hellénistique et romaine, un regard souvent complémentaire sur les contrepoints masculins, et un bilan certes partiel sur les potentialités féminines. On n'oubliera pas de bien considérer les dates, une limite au règne de Claude, et un regard particulièrement intéressant sur l'époque républicaine.

Marie-Thérèse RAEPSAET-CHARLIER.

Daniela BONANNO / Peter FUNKE / Matthias HAAKE (ed.), *Rechtliche Verfahren und religiöse Sanktionierung in der griechisch-römischen Antike / Procedimenti giuridici e sanzione religiosa nel mondo greco e romano*, Stuttgart, F. Steiner, 2016 (Alte Geschichte), 24,5 × 17,5 cm, 316 p., 58 €, ISBN 978-3-515-11298-7.

Questo volume raccoglie 23 contributi presentati in occasione di un convegno italo-tedesco svoltosi a Palermo nel dicembre del 2014 dedicato alle forme di interrelazione tra diritto e religione nel mondo greco e romano. Il progetto, come si può capire, è molto ambizioso, sia per la complessità del tema sia per l'ambito cronologico preso in esame che ricomprende tutto il mondo antico, dalla grecità arcaica alla prima età bizantina. I curatori, nella loro introduzione, si rifanno alle riflessioni proposte da Kurt Latte nel 1920 nel volume *Heiliges Recht. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der sakralen Rechtsform in Griechenland* alla luce di quanto prospettato da R. Parker in un saggio, *Law and Religion*, pubblicato in M. Gagarin / D. Cohen (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Ancient Greek Law* (Cambridge, 2005, p. 61-81). In realtà, Parker suggeriva che il problema dovesse essere affrontato in una serie di "sottosezioni" e dava evidenza al fatto, ricordato opportunamente da Claudio Biagetti (*Diritto e religione a Cuma eolica. Prime riflessioni*) che le cosiddette leggi sacre – distinguibili da quelle ordinarie per il solo risvolto religioso delle prescrizioni – hanno di regola una scansione interna ben definita che prevede: 1. la promulgazione da parte di un'autorità secolare; 2. disposizioni di interesse religioso; 3. l'enunciazione di una sanzione; 4. l'esecuzione della pena da parte di funzionari civili o religiosi. Sulla questione torna anche Klaus Zimmermann in un contributo metodologico in cui si preoccupa di dar conto del progetto dell'Exzellenzcluster di Münster "Religion und Politik": *Leges sacrae – Antike Vorstellungen und moderne Konzepte. Versuch einer methodischen Annäherung an eine umstrittene Textkategorie*. Come emerge di fatto dalla stessa introduzione, la differenza tra mondo greco e mondo romano al riguardo non può essere sottovalutata a cominciare dalla precoce secolarizzazione del diritto che si registra nelle Dodici Tavole (a prescindere da residui forme e sanzioni a carattere religioso come la condanna del ladro di messi ad essere "sospeso" a Cerere). L'articolazione dei contributi in due parti riflette in parte la differenza tra mondo greco e mondo romano. In tutte e tre le sezioni, peraltro, in cui sono raggruppati i contributi, *Rechtliche Verfahren und religiöse Sanktionierung in inner- und zwischenstaatlichen Beziehungen / Procedimenti giuridici e sanzione religiosa nelle relazioni intra- e interstatali; Göttliche Strafe und religiöse Sanktionierung: Formen, Wortschatz, Wirksamkeit / Punizione divina e sanzione religiosa: forme, lessico, efficacia; Das Heilige regeln / Disciplinare il sacro*, saggi di storia greca si accompagnano ad altri di storia romana. Nel primo, in cui prevalgono i contributi dedicati alla storia greca (Peter Funke, *Was die Amphiktyonie im Innersten zusammenhält. Überlegungen zum Wechselspiel von Religion und Politik in zwischenstaatlichen Verfahren im frühen Griechenland*; Nicola Cusumano, *Sanzione religiosa, procedimenti giuridici e disincanto in Tuciddide: il dramma di Platea*; Marie Drauschke, *καὶ στήσαι ἐς τὸ ἱερόν. Überlegungen zur Aufstellung zwischenstaatlichen Vereinbarungen in griechischen Heiligtümern*; Katharina Knäpper, *Eunoia. Eusebie, Euergesie. Positive Selbstcharakterisierung als Argumentationsstrategie in Asylgedokumenten des 3. und 2. Jh.s v. Chr.*), ne figurano

solo due di storia romana: quello di Annarosa Gallo, particolarmente apprezzabile, *I sacra del municipio in età medio-repubblicana e il ruolo del senato romano*, e quello di Lisa Stratmann, *Zwischen Kult, Krieg und Politik: Priester in der Germania des Tacitus*. Anche nella seconda prevalgono i contributi di storia greca: Daniela Bonanno, *Figlia della Notte e compagna di Aidos: Nemesis, dike e il senso del limite in Esiodo*; Giovanni Ingarao, *Se a grandi ingiustizie corrispondono grandi punizioni. Alcune riflessioni sul lessico della sanzione divina in Erodoto*; Sebastian Scharff, *Wie versichert man sich der göttlichen Vergeltung? Ein rechtliches Verfahren und seine religiöse Sanktionierung in der Amnestie der Dikaiopoliten*; Anna-Sophie Aletsee, *Der Triumph des Transgressors. Plutarch, Alexander der Große und die Pythia (Plu. Alex. 14, 6-7)*; Andrew Lepke, *Apollon kauft einen Sklave. Legale Fiktion und göttliche Intervention in der delphischen Freilassunginschriften*; quelli di storia romana sono tre: Alessia Terrinoni, *Reprimendis flammis. Gli incendi di Roma tra responsabilità umana e responsabilità divina*; Detlef Liebs, *Göttliche Sanktionen im römischen Verfahrensrecht*; Eva-Maria Kuhn, *When justice will not fail. Zum kirchlichen Rechtsgang in der Spätantike* (quest'ultimo, invero, come anche gli altri riguardanti la storia tardoromana poco plausibilmente integrabile nel progetto del volume). Nella terza parte a prevalere, invece, sono i contributi di storia romana: a prescindere da quello di Zimmermann e oltre a quello già ricordato di Biagetti, l'unico che riguardi la storia greca è lo studio di Matthias Haake, *Asebie als Argument. Zur religiösen Fundierung politischer Prozesse im klassischen und frühhellenistischen Griechenland: das Beispiel der athenischen Philosophenprozesse*. Gli altri, tutti di studiosi italiani, riguardano infatti la storia romana e tardoantica: Pierangelo Buongiorno, *Pronunce senatorie in materia di divinazione dall'età repubblicana all'età giulio-claudia: fra repressione e normazione*; Alessandro Saggioro, *Continuità e discontinuità nel trattamento giuridico della magia*; Laura Mecella, *Valeriano e la persecuzione anticristiana*; Giorgio Ferri, *L'ultima danza dei Salii: l'élite pagana di Roma e gli imperatori pagani nel IV secolo*; Daniela Motta, *Sulla politica religiosa di Marciano: fra legislazione, agiografia, storiografia*; Alister Filippini, *Legislazione imperiale e processi giudiziari per crimini religiosi nell'Oriente romano tardoantico (IV-VI sec.): le fonti epigrafiche*. Va riconosciuto a merito dei curatori di questo volume di aver voluto affiancare a studiosi di riconosciuta competenza, giovani meno esperti. La disegualianza nella qualità dei saggi, oltre che una certa disomogeneità nei contenuti, è probabilmente inevitabile in un progetto di tale ampiezza.

Arnaldo MARCONE.

Hadrien BRU / Guy LABARRE / Georges TIROLOGOS (ed.), *Espaces et territoires des colonies romaines d'Orient*, Besançon, Presses Universitaires de Franche-Comté, 2016 (Institut des Sciences et Techniques de l'Antiquité), 22 16 cm, 196 p., fig., cartes, 22 €, ISBN 978-2-84867-551-0.

This collection of studies edited by Hadrien Bru, Guy Labarre, and Georges Tirologos stems from three symposia that addressed the multilayered sociocultural configuration of the Greek East in the Hellenistic and Roman epochs. The book analyzes a key topic of the symposia, which is Augustan colonization and its impact on eastern societies. Issues of agency, superimposition, and, indeed, spatial impact resonate greatly in a collection of essays that bring the issue of colonization into sharper focus. The works of Levick, Syme, Mitchell, Rizakis and Sweetman form the obvious background against which most of these essays measure their analyses. For all their differences in methodological approaches and scope, the authors of the book under review weave together narratives of settlement while gleaned the essentially local, idiosyncratic effects of the colonial enterprise. Here lies the rub and what appears to

be the fundamental paradox of the colony: its being an institutional and, altogether, protean entity. How colonies were endowed with the authority and the apparatus of the Roman state and yet ushered in a multitude of outcomes remains the most fascinating, and indeed, problematic aspect of the study of colonies. This dialectic of regimented structure vis-à-vis local adaptability still baffles historians and archaeologists alike. The construction of the colonies and the relationships between Greeks and colonists, as well as the colonies' semantics, networks, and ties to Rome, are themes that have been only partially addressed by recent scholarship. It may be argued that perhaps the full span of the colonial phenomenon, starting from the early days of the Roman state, should be taken up again in an effort to highlight patterns and behavior. The possibility of tracing lines of adherence across the full spectrum of Roman history is particularly desirable, and certainly not a project for the faint of heart. All the same, we are grateful to Bru, Labarre, and Tirologos for this slim, yet weighty book on space and actors of the eastern colonies. The first essay by Jean-Yves Guillaumin reviews the textual underpinnings of the colonial discourse. The *gromatici* are the source that, for good or ill, best informs the technicalities and desiderata of the colonial project. There is no need here to stress how problematic these texts are, as noted by all those who engaged with them, from Lachmann to Campbell. Nor does the author dwell on the technicalities of this corpus, more often than not at variance with the archaeological evidence. Rather, he offers a good synthesis and singles out the points that deserve attention, most notably the practical aspects of the enterprise, i.e. the topography of the foundation, and less tangible implications, such as the definition of the *ordo coloniae*. In the next essay, Olli Salomies angles his analysis from the viewpoint of prosopography. As he contends, this is a field that, though affected by the abundance of very uneven data, can demonstrably shed light on individual stories of colonies and their social connotation. In that vein, he garners a body of 800 gentilicia spanning Greece, Macedonia, and Asia Minor. The author knows too well how skewed the dataset is, suspended as it is between contexts of abundant documentation, as in the case of Pisidian Antioch, and other, if not most, colonial settings with piecemeal documentation. All the same, Salomies shows a convincing way forward, extrapolating meaning and origins from names otherwise confined to mere lists. The operation has a concrete benefit, for it fundamentally casts light on the shuffling of communities that the interface with Rome brought about, while also documenting patterns of distribution and family networks. Because it is an analysis so imbricated in space, an adequate visualization of some of the patterns at stake would have added more thrust to the analysis. The example of the Lanii in the Pontic region and Mytilene is but one example of the possibilities that can arise when this data is wedded with maps. Guy Labarre's essay is an energetic and very comprehensive discussion of the Augustan plan for Pisidia. The topic is well known, and the historical non-sequiturs of these colonies have led to much spilling of ink, be it the Via Sebaste, the war against the Homonadeis, or the actual foundation date of the colonies. Labarre's analysis is most welcome, for he draws on previous scholarship (Syme, Levick, and Mitchell) to produce a more nuanced analysis of these cities integrated as they were in a true network of foci, and to a wider extent, in the rest of Asia and Rome. In this context Parlais is still the exception, and I am not persuaded that it played any patrolling function, since its presumed fortifications are in actuality overshot water mills, and the place seemed to have served as port on the Hoyran Lake. But this is a minor quibble, for Labarre walks us through the making of colonial space through the pervasive presence of these urban foci to the detriment of local populations. This is indeed fresh air, for the numismatic evidence and current fieldwork in the region have not modified traditional views. Almost a complement to

the previous essay, Hadrien Bru's chapter zooms in on the city of Pisidian Antioch, modeling the making of the colony and its territory against the historical background of its Hellenistic foundation and successive cultural developments. The topography of the region aptly takes the upper hand, and with it comes the appraisal of a colony not intended as a stand-alone enclave but rather as an urban system that spearheaded the investments of the colonists as well as new forms of land exploitation. One can only hope for future, holistic field analyses in a territory that is redolent with signs of the colonial event. The colony of Dion is the subject of the following paper. Julien Demaille delves into uncharted territory, for the archaeological assessment of the colonial enterprise at Dion still awaits proper treatment. Demaille's analysis is geared toward defining the cultural basis of the colony and it thereby situates the actors, whether colonists or their offspring, who appear prominent in the epigraphic record. Of course, the topographic positioning of the inscriptions as indicators of the colony's physical extent should be treated with prudence, as the author too recognizes. The limits of the peritica and the extent of the colony's territory, as well as its social evolution of the community, are nevertheless the central questions. Accurate maps serve the issues at stake. In a colonial world that is porous and where boundary lines seem to be inviting movement and interaction, the picture of Dion with its commingling of Greeks and Italians is one of great interest, and this study builds a solid conceptual plateau for future research. Last is the chapter by Cédric Brélaz and Georges Tirologos, an authoritative, beautifully illustrated study on the colony of Philippi. The analysis draws heavily on research by Rizakis and on the more recent work of Hatzopoulos and Zannis; however, it adds the fundamental component of the negotiation between human agency and a most complicated environment. Philippi and its microcosm of politics and royal properties offer a gripping example of a colonial history that is predicated on two events, namely Philip II assisting the Thasians in 356 BC and the veteran foundation of Augustus in 30 BC. The authors bring to the fore a heavily labored landscape and unique ecological niche that were modified by the colonial agency. The outcomes of the Augustan project are meaningful, suspended in the subtle dialectic between the local element and the new law and order. The parceling out of space and the recourse to ancestral practices in measuring the land are the most vivid applications of the colonial entanglement. But it is the breadth of institutional schemes, which the implementation of the colony brings to bear, that demonstrates the far-flung effects of the operation at spatial and social levels. The local interaction, as made manifest by the toggling back and forth between Greek and Latin, is the one angle that offers new insights into the making of the colony. The last paragraph of the essay spells out the questions that the study addresses concerning the juridical, administrative, and social frameworks of the colony at Philippi. It is fair to say that those same questions represent the epistemology of the study of Roman colonization.

Andrea U. DE GIORGI.

Laetitia CICCOLINI / Paul MATTEL, *Sancti Cypriani episcopi. De habitu virginum*, cura et studio L. C. *Opera Pseudo-Cyprianea. De laude martyrii, Ad Vigilium episcopum de Iudaica incredulitate, De rebaptismate*, cura et studio L. C. et P. M., Turnhout, Brepols, 2016 (Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina IIIF), 24,5 × 15,5 cm, 626 p., 335 €, ISBN 978-2-503-55790-8.

Ce volume, qui rassemble un traité authentique de Cyprien et des œuvres transmises sous son nom, est à tous égards une excellente contribution aux études cypriennes et pseudo-cypriennes. La cohérence des textes réunis ici est justifiée dans l'avant-propos : il s'agit de présenter une part non négligeable de l'héritage littéraire, authentique comme

apocryphe, de l'évêque de Carthage. Le *De habitu uirginum*, œuvre authentique, était le dernier texte dont l'édition manquait dans la collection du *Corpus Christianorum*. Parmi le vaste et hétérogène ensemble des *Pseudo-Cyprianea*, les trois œuvres retenues, le *De laude martyrii*, l'*Ad Vigilium episcopum de Iudaica incredulitate* et le *De rebaptismate*, l'ont été pour des raisons de chronologie : ces textes furent composés du vivant de Cyprien ou à peu de distance de lui. Ils témoignent de la production africaine au III^e siècle. On doit à L. Ciccolini les éditions du *De habitu uirginum*, du *De laude martyrii* et de l'*Ad Vigilium episcopum de Iudaica incredulitate*, à P. Mattei celle du *De rebaptismate*. Le travail d'ecdotique mené sur ces quatre textes est remarquable car les difficultés posées par leur tradition manuscrite sont aussi nombreuses que diverses. Les trois introductions rédigées par L. Ciccolini sont en la matière des modèles de rigueur, de construction et de clarté, pour peu que l'on ne se perde pas dans un système de sigles hérité de la recherche antérieure qui contribue parfois à obscurcir le tableau. Celle de P. Mattei montre de façon méthodique à quels problèmes se heurte l'éditeur confronté à un texte *sine ope codicum*, pourrait-on dire, ou presque. L'unité du travail mené par L. Ciccolini sur les trois premières œuvres tient à leur tradition manuscrite commune. Tous les manuscrits concernés font l'objet d'une présentation aux p. 8 à 92. S'ensuivent deux tableaux, le premier listant ces témoins d'après le numéro qui leur fut attribué par von Soden, le second d'après les sigles utilisés dans la présente édition. Les p. 105-106 présentent la répartition de l'ensemble de ces témoins par œuvre et par famille. En somme, il s'agit d'une synthèse qui rassemble de façon synoptique les conclusions (ou les hypothèses) que L. Ciccolini expose dans chacune des trois introductions. Le travail de l'éditrice est évidemment redevable aux études de von Soden sur la collection des lettres et à celles de Bévenot sur les traités, mais il dépasse très largement les groupes élémentaires que les deux savants avaient distingués, donnant une vision sinon limpide, du moins solidement construite, des différents pans de cette tradition presque inextricable. La méthode mise au point par Bévenot à partir du *De Vnitate ecclesiae* – retenir comme utiles les manuscrits dits indépendants ou opposés, soit présentant peu de fautes communes – se révèle bien insatisfaisante. Même s'il est vrai que le caractère pléthorique et le stade précocement contaminé de la tradition cyprianique sont assurément deux écueils qui empêchent la construction d'un stemma, la méthode de Bévenot souffrait d'un biais supplémentaire : elle supposait que la tradition du *De Vnitate* valait aussi pour les autres traités. Or, comme le montrent très bien les collations à frais nouveaux engagées par L. Ciccolini sur 194 témoins, la tradition du *De habitu uirginum* ne recoupe que partiellement le classement de Bévenot. Certes, la construction d'un stemma reste vouée à l'échec. Mais il est possible de distinguer plusieurs groupes (25 au total), dont six offrent un état du texte remontant à l'Antiquité. Le stemma bifide qui fut supposé en 1868 par le précédent éditeur du *De habitu uirginum* pour le *CSEL*, W. Hartel, est à abandonner sans le moindre doute. Les discussions philologiques sur les rapports entre les témoins et les groupes, développées dans les p. 128-205, sont un exemple de méthodologie et de prudence. De ce panorama d'une très grande densité, l'éditrice tire des conclusions passionnantes sur l'histoire du texte, depuis son insertion première dans la collection tardo-antique des traités jusqu'à son succès à l'époque de l'Italie humaniste, en passant par le Lyon carolingien et l'activité de bibliophile du diacre Florus. Même s'il s'avère au final assez décevant dans ses résultats, le recours à un classement informatique des fautes était une excellente idée (p. 230-236). Les résultats de ce classement recourent, en effet, les groupements auxquels l'éditrice a abouti, mais on constate que la pondération mécanique des variantes ne peut remplacer – en tout cas, pas à court terme – la réflexion humaine sur les mots, dans ce qu'elle peut avoir de plus précis et de plus subtil. Le texte établi par L. Ciccolini propose ainsi quarante-quatre modifications par rapport

à l'édition de Hartel, modifications qu'il aurait été bienvenu de donner sous la forme d'une liste en appendice de l'introduction. L'éclectisme auquel l'éditrice a dû se résoudre est assis sur des critères raisonnés et raisonnables : elle a privilégié les témoins qui permettaient de remonter à un état très ancien du texte, leur adjoignant de façon ponctuelle les leçons d'un *deperditus* connues de Latino Latini et celles de la tradition indirecte, à travers des citations chez Augustin. L'ensemble de la tradition est schématisé p. 237. Texte composé en Afrique en 253 par un contemporain de Cyprien partageant ses préoccupations, le *De laude martyrii* témoigne de l'autorité dont jouissaient les œuvres de l'évêque martyr de Carthage. Son ample tradition (110 manuscrits) a des caractéristiques semblables aux lettres de Cyprien les plus fréquemment transmises. Le *De laude martyrii* a ceci de particulier qu'il n'est pas transmis en dehors des œuvres de Cyprien et qu'il a probablement dû sa survie à son inclusion très précoce parmi les lettres de Cyprien, étant plus particulièrement associé à celles sur le martyre. Repartant des travaux sur les lettres de von Soden et de Diercks, L. Ciccolini montre, d'après ses propres collations menées sur 83 témoins, que la transmission de cette œuvre repose sur trois éléments qu'elle présente sous forme de stemma p. 370 : deux familles, **X** et **T** qui, associées, reflètent un état africain très ancien du texte ; le groupe **Z**, qui offre lui aussi un texte ancien mais probablement corrigé (non représenté dans l'édition Hartel de 1871) ; le manuscrit tardo-antique *S*, qui ne conserve plus que la seconde moitié de l'œuvre et que les éditeurs anciens, en particulier Hartel, ont eu tendance à surévaluer en raison de son âge vénérable. En dépit de lignes de transmission mieux déterminées que pour le *De habitu uirginum*, l'approche stématique n'est pas totalement concluante pour établir le texte. Les manuscrits étant parfois partagés, l'éditrice a choisi en ce cas de donner plus d'autorité à certains témoins, pourvu que leur accord permette de remonter à un état ancien du texte. Le *De Iudaica incredulitate*, texte de polémique anti-judaïque, n'est en aucun cas une œuvre de Cyprien : c'est une lettre d'un certain Celsus, qui s'identifie lui-même comme tel, destinée à accompagner la traduction qu'il a effectuée d'un ouvrage grec, la *Controverse de Jason et Papiscus*, et qu'il adresse à un évêque Vigile. Cette lettre est transmise à la marge de la correspondance de Cyprien, avec d'autres pseudépigraphes, dans 55 témoins. L'étude des variantes fait ressortir l'existence de quatre familles, plus un manuscrit isolé, *Z*. L'éditrice ne propose pas de stemma global, mais un pour chaque famille. En effet, établir les rapports entre ces familles demeure malaisé en raison du caractère tardif des témoins pour certaines d'entre elles, et de l'état du manuscrit isolé qui comporte à la fois des variantes antiques et des innovations de son copiste. À ces difficultés s'ajoutent la banalité des variantes et la qualité de la langue de l'auteur dont L. Ciccolini qualifie à plusieurs reprises la syntaxe d'« embarrassée ». Comme pour les deux autres textes, l'éditrice présente les fautes de l'archétype (p. 477-478) sans cacher ses hésitations sur les conjectures à produire. À la p. 477, elle relève le passage suivant (chap. 1, 2, ligne 11) : *aduersus odium nominis Domini*. On attendrait *aduersus nomen Domini*. Le texte unanime des manuscrits peut être maintenu à condition de prendre *odium* dans un sens métonymique (« l'objet de haine qu'est le nom du Seigneur »), voir *ThLL* 9, 2, col. 967, 8-56. Même si la phrase entière est écrite dans un latin épouvantable, je ne crois pas qu'il y ait lieu de supposer là une erreur de l'archétype : *nominis* peut tout à fait être compris comme une sorte de génitif de relation qui précise sur quoi porte la haine. En revanche, la conjecture *promiscam*, au lieu de *promixtum* (chap. 8, 4, ligne 212), en particulier à partir du témoin *T*, est tout à fait pertinente. En effet, *T* est un manuscrit carolingien de Lorsch dont le copiste a eu tendance à lire dans les *a* de son modèle des *u*, ce qui est tout à fait cohérent avec un antigraphe de cette époque aux *a* ouverts. La corruption de *promiscam* en *promixtum* est donc plausible. Le *De rebaptismate* est présenté et édité par P. Mattei. Ce texte

concerne la question du rebaptême ou non des fidèles baptisés par des hérétiques, lorsqu'ils demandent à entrer dans la *catholica*. Comme le note P. Mattei, il est pour le moins paradoxal que cet ouvrage qui milite pour le non ait été inclus parmi la tradition des œuvres de Cyprien, qui était très favorable au rebaptême. L'introduction procède en trois temps : les problèmes critiques et l'établissement du texte, les circonstances de rédaction, temps et lieu, de l'ouvrage, et les questions théologiques et littéraires. La tradition du *De rebaptismo* est une gageure philologique : le texte ne subsiste plus que dans deux témoins du XVII^e siècle qui sont postérieurs à l'édition princeps de 1648. L'un des manuscrits, l'édition princeps de Rigault et celle de Baluze (1726) dérivent tous trois d'un *codex* de Saint-Rémi de Reims qui brûla sans doute dans l'incendie du monastère en 1774. Le manuscrit semble avoir subi l'influence de l'édition princeps. Un second manuscrit, indépendant de cette source, a fait l'objet de deux campagnes de révisions et d'annotations, si bien qu'il apparaît corrigé (et contaminé) d'après l'édition princeps (encore !) et un autre manuscrit qui demeure en l'espèce non identifié. Ce manuscrit pourrait être – mais P. Mattei ne semble guère y croire – un *codex Vaticanus* mentionné en 1672 et aujourd'hui introuvable (p. 515-516). Un stemma (p. 517) résume ces parentés et ces transmissions horizontales, mais il n'est d'aucune utilité pour l'établissement du texte. L'éditeur a donc dû se résoudre à choisir les leçons au cas par cas. De nombreuses notes critiques justifient ses choix éditoriaux (p. 581-596). Cette démarche permet de le suivre dans ses raisonnements et d'apprécier la valeur des leçons retenues. Dans la section consacrée à la localisation et à la datation de l'opuscule, P. Mattei revient en particulier sur les travaux de Rauschen et J. Ernst, et établit une nouvelle datation plus précise, en fonction du contexte historique de la controverse sur le rebaptême : ce traité étant postérieur à la lettre 74 de Cyprien (printemps / été 256) et probablement antérieur à la diffusion des actes du Concile du 1^{er} septembre et de la lettre 75 (automne 256), il doit avoir été rédigé durant l'intervalle entre ces deux dates (p. 521-525). Dans la troisième et dernière section de l'introduction, P. Mattei s'attache à souligner une particularité théologique du traité : sa distinction, fermement établie, entre baptême d'eau et baptême d'Esprit. Il reste enfin à remarquer – et cela apparaît clairement à la lecture de ces pages, et plus encore à la lecture du texte latin – que le style et la langue de l'Anonyme sont quelque peu maladroits : ils reflètent une pensée diffuse et souvent répétitive. La tradition des œuvres de Cyprien et de celles qui lui sont à tort attribuées est vertigineuse de complexité et pose à l'éditeur un véritable défi philologique que L. Ciccolini et P. Mattei ont relevé avec brio. Dans chacun de ces quatre textes, l'approche stemmatique s'avérant impossible pour des raisons différentes, les éditeurs ont été réduits à l'éclectisme. Mais encore faut-il que cet éclectisme soit justifié, argumenté et conduit de façon éclairée. C'est le cas de ce volume dont les introductions se distinguent par leur maîtrise, leur érudition et leurs qualités méthodologiques, et dont les textes sont appelés à devenir les éditions de référence.

Camille GERZAGUET.

Andrei CORNEA, *Epicur & epicureismul antic*. Ediție bilingvă. Traducere din greacă și latină, studiu introductiv și note, Iași / București, Editura Universității „Alexandru Ioan Cuza” Iași / Humanitas, 2016 (Colecția Traditio), 24 × 16 cm, 733 p., 27 Lei / 6 €, ISBN 978-606-714-076-7.

This edition collects, and translates into Romanian, Greek and Latin writings / fragments / doxographical accounts / polemical opinions authored by or related to Epicurus and some of his ancient followers (Metrodorus, Hermarchus, Philodemus, Lucretius, Diogenes of Oinoanda). For Epicurus, the Greek and Latin texts mostly follow the edition of Arrighetti; for the ancient disciples of Epicurus, Usener is followed (on Diogenes

of Oenoanda, M. F. Smith's editions are of great help). The fragments that can be found in Usener and Arrighetti are duly identified in the edition. The main sections are: A) Abbreviations (p. 9-10); B) Note on the edition (p. 11-14); C) An introduction to Epicurus' philosophy (p. 15-200); D) Extant writings of Epicurus (p. 201-309); E) Fragments of lost writings (p. 311-327); F) Fragments of the epistles (p. 329-349); G) The system of the Epicurean philosophy (p. 351-585); H) Epicurus' life (p. 587-611); I) Addenda (p. 613-617); J) Apparatus (including Notes, Bibliography, Epicurean essential vocabulary, and Index nominum, p. 619-733). Sections D, E, F, G, H, I are bilingual. As one can expect, only sections F and G contain Latin texts, of great interest here; the J section ("Epicurean essential vocabulary") lists Greek philosophical terms and their Latin equivalents, adding the Romanian translation. As for the Latin texts, the fragments related to the Epicurean philosophy are selected from Cicero, Lucretius (the poem is considered only fragmentarily, the texts selected being related to the main Epicurean doctrines), Seneca, Philo (Aucher's Latin translation of *De providentia*), Lactantius, Tertullian, Augustine, Jerome, Horace, and from *Commenta Lucani*. In a few cases, the translation offered is taken from previous editions (the translation of fragm. G249 and G250, from Seneca's epistles, is taken from Ioana Costa's version, and slightly modified; see p. 554). Andrei Cornea is one of the most experienced translators, into Romanian, in the field of the ancient philosophical texts, and a well-versed scholar in ancient philosophy. He translated into Romanian Plato (*Respublica*, *Philebus*, *Theaitetus*), Aristotle (*Metaphysics*, *On generation and corruption*), and Plotinus. As an exegete, he drew extensively upon his deep knowledge of ancient philosophy in *Writing and Orality in the Ancient Culture* (¹1988, ²2006) and *A History of Non-Being in Greek philosophy* (2010) [titles translated from Romanian]. Given the state of the art in the country (a short number of Romanian translations from ancient philosophy, no Romanian cultural institution older than 200 years, the lack of projects of systematic translations from Greek and Latin into Romanian), Cornea's effort has to be commended. In the following, I will discuss the introduction and the bilingual sections (Latin-Romanian) of the volume. Section C, "An introduction in Epicurus' philosophy" (p. 15-200), offers the most comprehensive introduction to the Epicurean thought that can be read today in Romanian. Cornea endeavors to envisage the Epicurean doctrine from a different perspective: Epicurus should not be read as an episode in the history of philosophy, says Cornea, but in the light of the history of ideas; he thus labels the doctrine of Epicurus as "pseudoscientific gnosis". This claim could be considered daring, but Cornea puts forth some arguments supporting it. First of all, Plotinus mentioned Epicurus in II.9.15, a treatise he wrote "Against the Gnostics". One could consider that Plotinus was polemical or exaggerating in placing Epicurus within the gnostic group, but at least one doctrine is common to both trends: the lack of belief in an omnipotent providence (*apronoesia*) (p. 45). Other tenets of gnosticism are to be found in Epicurus: the lack of harmony between the human being and the universe (p. 46), the absence of teleology (p. 47), the similarity between the human being and the supreme being (p. 50). All these doctrines show the features of "anticosmism". Moreover, like any gnostic Epicurus holds that knowledge is liberating (p. 51). Cornea consequently considers "gnosis" the proper word for describing Epicurus' doctrine. Of course, not all tenets of gnosticism can be found in Epicurus (e.g., Epicurus is no adept of "degenerativism", he adheres to a kind of "emergentism" in that the inferior – the atoms – produces the superior; p. 52). On the other hand, Cornea argues that Epicurus' gnosis is "pseudoscientific": it just provides us with a "pretense of science", not with science itself (p. 54). For Epicurus, physiological inquiry is not a quest for truth, but a therapeutic practice (p. 54); "meteorology" offers multiple explanations that aim at appeasing the psychological torments caused by the "phainomena"

(p. 56). In sum, the lack of any notable scientific discovery exposes the “pseudoscientific” character of Epicurus’ gnosis (p. 57). Of course, atomism could be seen as a form of scientific “knowledge”, but Epicurus adds little to previous atomist doctrines (p. 58), and his “empiricism” is no science, as shown by the fact that, though rejecting them plainly, he does not refrain from resorting to *a priori* judgments (p. 59). Epicurus refuses to adhere to an universal project; he just aims at salvation: the “tetrapharmakon” is the good news brought by the philosopher (p. 62). There is no need for a political project, for civic action (p. 68), since the community of the philosophers (p. 74) based on “*philia*” is proposed as a substitute for social life. Cornea discusses “*canonica*” (p. 79-116), “*physics*” (p. 116-148) and “*ethics*” (p. 148-198) from this perspective. Sometimes polemical, sometimes expositive, he mentions E. Asmis, A. Gigandet, J.-F. Balaudé, A. A. Long, D. N. Sedley, O. Bloch, N. DeWitt, J. M. Rist, B. Nicolsky, J. Warren, E. R. Dodds, P. Mitzis, E. Brown, M. Wifstrand Schiebe. As we can see, this highly innovative approach to Epicurus’ thought is Cornea’s main contribution. Additionally, I would mention here his treatment of the disputed Epicurean theory of sensation, the lengthy discussion on the pleasure doctrine, and the way he revisits Epicurus’ “*theology*”. Cornea’s translation is outstanding. While taking into account the difficulty of philosophical texts, it proves remarkably readable, as its lexical choices rely on the modern vocabulary of Romanian. In addition, the “*Epicurean essential vocabulary*” listed in the “*Apparatus*” allows easily comparing the present translation to its predecessors for what concerns the *termini technici* of ancient philosophy. The translation is stylistically elegant: great care for the technicalities, with high sensitivity for the text aesthetics (especially in the case of Lucretius’ fragments). The Romanian text is fluent, sometimes neglecting the redundancies of the Latin original (e.g. *ad hanc rem pertinentem* – fragm. F24, p. 332-333 – is not translated, so *ab Epicureis* in fragm. G276, p. 572-573; the translation of *in natura rerum* – fragm. G194, p. 500-501 – is partial: “în natură”, but the result is acceptable). Some terms are not translated because of the context (e.g. *nobilis* – fragm. F43, p. 346-347). There are a few places where the omission of one term could affect the rhetoric of the text (in fragm. G207 – p. 510-511 – *error omnis* is translated simply by “error”, in Romanian: “eroarea”, so that the Ciceronian passage loses some of its flavor). Sometimes, a concise translation is simply justified by the philosophical expertise of the translator: in fragm. G180, p. 484-485, Latin *opificem aedificatoremque* is translated as “the Demiurge” (Romanian “Demiurgul”): the Latin fragment describes the Platonic Demiurge, so the reduction is legitimate within the context. In some cases, the tension between the modern Romanian philosophical terminology and the premodern one is obvious: Latin *uis* (in *uis uerborum*) is traditionally translated as “power” (Romanian “putere”), as in fragm. G75, p. 372-373. Also, Latin *deus* is translated as “zeu” (fragm. G192, p. 497) or “Dumnezeu” (fragm. G193, p. 499): in Romanian, the first term is usual in philosophical works, the second in theological writings. Sometimes, a single technical term is translated in more than one way: *primordia rerum* is, in the same fragment (G124, p. 424-425), “elements of the things” (Romanian “elementele lucrurilor”) and “constituents of things” (Romanian “primordiile lucrurilor”). The same *primordia* are, in the translation of a passage from Lucretius (fragm. G113, p. 412-413), “atoms” (Romanian “atomii”) and “elements” (Romanian “elemente”). In the end, few options of the translator could be challenged: e.g., *ultimum* is translated as “first” (Romanian “prim”) in fragm. G201 (p. 504-505), but Cicero’s text suggests the opposite meaning, “last”. In fragm. G88, p. 386-387, Latin *uisum* is generically translated as “sensation” (Romanian “senzație”); this rendering can be found even in Wyttenbach. One could consider that the translation “philosophers-medics” (Romanian “filosofi-medici”) for Latin *clinicorum philosophorum* (fragm. G69, p. 366-367) is not the best:

in the context, *clinicorum* seems to allude to the patients, not to the physicians (the fragment is from *Diuinae institutiones* 3.8, not from section 8.10, as indicated in the edition). In fragm. G69, p. 366-367, Latin *Pamphilum, quendam Platonis auditorem* is translated as “one Pamphilus, the Platonician” (in Romanian: “pe un anume Pamphilos platonicianul”), missing the technical meaning of *auditor*. I found just one typo in the Latin text (*pius* pro *prius*, fragm. G192, p. 496). In sum, Cornea’s edition is remarkable; his rendering of the Latin is accurate; his introduction is valuable. Had it appeared in Epicurus’ “mundus”, the edition would have offered a *clinamen* for an entire field of studies.

Adrian MURARU.

Elisa DAL CHIELE, *Apuleio. De Platone et eius dogmate. Vita e pensiero di Platone.*

Testo, introduzione e commento, Bologna, Bononia University Press, 2016 (Centro Studi “La permanenza del Classico”. Ricerche, 35), 21 × 14 cm, 182 p., 25 €, ISBN 978-88-6923-079-0.

In età moderna e contemporanea Apuleio è studiato e conosciuto dal grande pubblico soprattutto per il suo romanzo, le *Metamorfosi*; a quanto ci è dato sapere, tuttavia, le cose stavano in modo assai diverso in età antica. Apuleio stesso, che pure in *Florida* 9 si vanta di aver composto opere di ogni genere (*poemata omnigenus apta uirgae, lyrae, socco, coturno, item satiras ac griphos, item historias uarias rerum nec non orationes laudatas disertis nec non dialogos laudatos philosophis*), non cita mai le *Metamorfosi*, e sembra affidare le proprie ambizioni soprattutto alle sue varie attività in campo retorico e filosofico: può essere un caso dovuto alla posteriorità del romanzo rispetto a *Florida* 9 ed altri testi rilevanti, ma più facilmente si tratterà di una conseguenza della scarsa dignità attribuita ad un genere letterario considerato minore e inutile alla formazione intellettuale delle élite romane e greche. Alcuni studi recenti si occupano però meritoriamente di riportare l’attenzione su Apuleio filosofo: tra questi, ad esempio, i recenti volumi di R. Fletcher, *Apuleius’ Platonism: The Impersonation of Philosophy* (Cambridge, 2014), e di C. Moreschini, *Apuleius and the Metamorphoses of Platonism* (Turnhout, 2015). L’ultima novità è quella di J. A. Stover, *A New Work by Apuleius: The Lost Third Book of the De Platone* (Oxford / New York, 2016), pubblicato però troppo tardi perché Dal Chiele potesse darne pienamente conto. L’ampia *Introduzione* (p. 1-49) inquadra utilmente il *De Platone* nel contesto della produzione apuleiana, della seconda sofistica e della filosofia medioplatonica, tutte aree caratterizzate da un profondo eclettismo. L’opera si compone di due soli libri, dedicati alla fisica e all’etica; manca la tradizionale sezione dedicata alla logica, forse mai composta, forse perduta, forse da identificarsi nel *Perí hermeneias* o nell’anonimo manoscritto edito da Stover. I dubbi si estendono anche all’autenticità stessa del *De Platone*; Dal Chiele analizza la questione alle p. 23-29, concludendo per una cauta affermazione dell’apuleianità del testo. Chiudono la parte introduttiva tre brevi sezioni sulla tradizione testuale, sulle peculiarità stilistiche e lessicali dell’opera, e sulla sua fortuna. Il testo latino, privo di apparato critico, segue quello dell’edizione di C. Moreschini (*Apulei Platonici Madaurensis opera quae supersunt. De philosophia libri*, BT, 1991); se ne distacca però in ben 50 occasioni, nelle quali per lo più Dal Chiele accoglie le proposte avanzate da Giuseppina Magnaldi in numerosi articoli recenti. L’opera ha natura divulgativa, ma il suo linguaggio non è scevro di difficoltà e occasionali oscurità. Nella traduzione proposta, Dal Chiele fa un ottimo lavoro nel rendere il latino di Apuleio in un italiano scorrevole e comprensibile, che rimanendo libero dalla costrizione di un’aderenza troppo stretta alla lingua originale privilegia la comprensibilità per il lettore moderno. Il commento fornisce un appoggio sicuro per l’interpretazione del testo. Purtroppo, per una scelta editoriale probabilmente del tutto

indipendente dalla volontà di Dal Chiele, il commento è ancorato a note inserite nella traduzione italiana; questo può forse rendere la consultazione più agevole al lettore meno interessato al testo originale (ma allora perché i lemmi sono in latino?), ma finisce per creare qualche difficoltà in non pochi casi, e specialmente quando le note sono di natura filologico-testuale. Ad es. la n. 129 a p. 158, su 2.25 *Moribus [et] huiusmodi cunctos ciues imbuendos esse dicit*, spiega l'ottima espunzione di *et* proposta da Magnaldi, che sana due problemi testuali come il prodotto di un unico errore del copista: l'*et* sarebbe infatti il risultato di una correzione, penetrata nel testo al punto sbagliato, di un precedente *constat* nel *constet* richiesto dalla sintassi. Tuttavia, la posizione del riferimento a questa nota nella traduzione italiana risulta inevitabilmente incongrua, e finisce per sviare sia il lettore interessato alla costituzione del testo che quello in cerca di chiarimenti contenutistici. Si potevano certamente trovare soluzioni migliori per coordinare testo, traduzione e commento; ma in fondo il compromesso adottato è accettabile per un'edizione priva di apparato critico e quindi presumibilmente non rivolta in modo specifico a filologi testuali. Di per sé il commento, nonostante le ridotte dimensioni (p. 125-160), fa un buon lavoro nel guidare il lettore attraverso un'ampia messe di riferimenti ai testi originali di Platone. Evidenzia bene anche punti di convergenza e sincretismi con le scuole peripatetica e stoica, tipici del platonismo di età imperiale e particolarmente evidenti nella sezione dedicata all'etica. Ottima da questo punto di vista, ad esempio, la sezione dedicata alla figura del *sapiens* (2.20-23, con le note alle p. 154-157), profondamente influenzata dallo stoicismo. Tipicamente medioplatonica è anche la concezione apuleiana di *providentia* (1.12, con la n. 104 p. 138): in Platone manca sostanzialmente una discussione articolata sulla *πρόνοια* divina, che invece ha risonanze profonde con la sensibilità delle varie scuole filosofiche di età imperiale, che impostarono una vivace discussione su questi temi. La necessità di tradurre e divulgare il greco di Platone per un pubblico latino porta con sé delle importanti sfide linguistiche: il latino non era ben attrezzato allo scopo, e come è noto già Cicerone si trovava di fronte alla necessità di creare dei neologismi per rendere i concetti astratti tipici della lingua filosofica. Apuleio dichiara di aver dovuto affrontare problemi di questo tipo nei suoi scritti di zoologia (cfr. *Apologia* 38), e naturalmente deve fare lo stesso anche nel *De Platone*; Dal Chiele è sempre scrupoloso nell'osservare questi fenomeni. La necessità di disporre di nomi astratti si riflette ad esempio a 2.4 nella formazione di *indocilitas* dal normale *indocilis*, per rendere il greco ἀμαθία o δυσμαθία (p. 146 n. 24). Particolarmente interessante per la storia della lingua latina risulta poi la n. 96 a p. 155, su 2.20 *intemporalem*: l'aggettivo è probabilmente creato da Apuleio per tradurre il greco ἀχρονος, riferito al *sapiens*, ma diverrà poi comune negli autori cristiani per esprimere l'eternità di Dio. Chi si avvicina alla lettura del *De Platone* partendo dalle *Metamorfosi* potrà talvolta sentire la mancanza di collegamenti tra le due opere. Esempio il primo capitolo, dove si riferisce del sogno premonitore in cui il giovane Socrate vede un cigno *canore musico auditus hominum deorumque mulcentem*: dato che la terminologia non può non ricordare quella del prologo del romanzo (1.1.1 *auresque tuas ... permulceam*), sarebbe stato utile notare il parallelo, e magari fornire qualche indicazione bibliografica utile a chi volesse approfondire il problema delle suggestioni platoniche presenti nelle *Metamorfosi*. Per il resto, tuttavia, il commento si rivela sempre molto informato e aggiornato. Il volume è ben curato, e l'apparente mancanza di refusi rivela un attento lavoro di revisione. Ha il merito di rendere accessibile ad una più vasta platea di lettori un testo relativamente difficile e poco noto, ma che rappresenta la più organica testimonianza in lingua latina del medioplatonismo; e si inserisce nel contemporaneo interesse per la produzione filosofica e divulgativa di Apuleio, che come detto all'inizio era probabilmente, per Apuleio stesso e i suoi contemporanei, più importante di quella narrativa.

Luca GRAVERINI.

Elio DE MAGISTRIS, *Elea Velia. Indicatori di frontiera, economia del territorio*, Lecce, Mario Congedo, 2016 (Rivista di Topografia Antica. Supplemento, X), 28,5 × 21 cm, 135 p., 95 fig., 50 €, ISBN 978-88-6766-150-3.

Il dibattito sul territorio di Elea si sviluppa, nella sua dimensione archeologica, a partire dalla metà degli anni Sessanta del Novecento, quando la scoperta dell'abitato tardo arcaico dell'Acropoli aveva sollecitato la necessità di definirne, su scala più ampia, il modello insediativo, soprattutto in relazione ai dati storico-letterari, quali il *topos* delle città focee senza territorio o il problema del rapporto tra esuli Focei ed Enotri, sullo sfondo del noto passo erodoteo (I.167) sulla fondazione. A Elio De Magistris si deve il merito di aver ripreso questo importante filone di ricerca, dopo il primo impulso dato da M. Napoli ed E. Greco, grazie a un programma di ricognizioni sviluppato negli ultimi decenni. L'Autore, in questa monografia, propone un'analisi mirata del problema del territorio e della frontiera, individuando alcuni indicatori specifici che hanno evidentemente guidato la sua attività di ricerca più recente sul campo e costituiscono la chiave di lettura dei dati raccolti. I temi tradizionali del dibattito, cui si è fatto cenno, vengono affrontati con un approccio differente, che mira a ricostruire in maniera particolare la "geografia politica" di Elea, nel corso del tempo, attraverso il riconoscimento dei "segni naturali o artificiali" lasciati nel territorio che definiscono il "codice dei confini" (capitolo 1, p. 7-13). L'analisi del primo indicatore, quello dei luoghi di culto liminari (capitolo 3, p. 20-38), consente all'Autore di presentare nuovi dati e di reinterpretare alcuni elementi emersi dalle precedenti ricerche. Significativa è la documentazione restituita dalle quattro piccole isole (Scoglio del coniglio, Scoglio del Mingardo, Isola di Camerota, Isola di Licosa) che caratterizzano il comparto costiero, con tracce di frequentazione di età protostorica, tardo arcaica e, in particolar modo, ellenistica. I materiali sono stati messi in relazione con piccole aree di culto eleati, di età ellenistica, attribuite alle Sirene o a *Leucothea* che esprimono le valenze e il legame con il mare, in relazione al controllo della fascia costiera. Un ruolo importante in questo quadro è giocato dal sito di Palinuro che l'Autore analizza soprattutto per le fasi di età ellenistica. La rilettura di alcuni rinvenimenti degli anni Cinquanta del Novecento (Area Q) suggerisce l'ipotesi di riconoscimento del cenotafio di Palinuro, presso il quale si tenevano "i sacrifici eroici annuali" (si veda anche E. De Magistris, in *Dialoghi sull'Archeologia della Magna Grecia e del Mediterraneo*, I.2, Paestum, 2016, p. 387-397). In questo senso, infatti, viene reinterpretato il recupero di un nucleo di mattoni velini e di livelli di cenere e carboni, in un'area di dispersione di "fittili votivi". Il culto di Palinuro, d'altra parte, ritorna centrale nella revisione di un altro rinvenimento (Tempa della Guardia), relativo a circa cento pesi da telaio. L'Autore immagina la presenza di un *lucus* di Palinuro, dove sarebbero state appese agli alberi le offerte di vesti o di stoffe, segnalate proprio dai pesi da telaio. In questa stessa chiave viene considerato un muro contraddistinto da una messa in opera molto vicina alla tecnica a scacchiera di Elea, inizialmente attribuito alla fortificazione del centro indigeno tardo arcaico. Questa struttura costituirebbe, per l'Autore, il peribolo del bosco sacro, databile all'età ellenistica. L'ipotesi del riconoscimento di aree di culto riferibili a Palinuro appare molto suggestiva, anche se alcuni dei dati archeologici derivano da rinvenimenti occasionali, come per i mattoni velini e i livelli di cenere che potevano costituire una generica traccia culturale, non necessariamente legata al Nocchiero. Il problema di questo culto di Palinuro resta comunque aperto, soprattutto per definirne e motivarne lo sviluppo tra III e II sec. a.C., da parte evidentemente degli Eleati che controllavano l'area. Condivisibile appare la datazione del muro la cui tecnica è molto vicina alle tessiture attestate a Velia in età ellenistica. Altri referenti, invece, emergono in aree

attribuite in precedenza alla stessa Elea. Va sottolineato il caso di Ortodonico, località Chiusa, in cui De Magistris riconosce un santuario 'poseidoniate' di età tardo arcaica (con qualche evidenza di V sec. a.C.), sulla base delle caratteristiche dei materiali restituiti e dell'analisi della visibilità. In posizione opposta, verso sud, il sito di San Mauro La Bruca rimanda, per l'Autore, ad un santuario lucano, nonostante la posizione a settentrione di Palinuro; si segnala un ambiente quadrangolare, inquadrato da un peribolo, confrontato con esempi quali Torre di Satriano, Armento, etc., oltre a frammenti ceramici di IV sec. a.C. che trovano riscontri con quelli di Roccagloriosa (*naiskos* della casa A). Questi due casi evidenzerebbero presenze, a nord, poseidoniate e, a sud, lucane, che si incuneano in aree riferite a Elea nella letteratura precedente. Si tratta, senza dubbio, dei primi segni di un quadro molto complesso, in cui non è sempre agevole l'attribuzione delle evidenze, in questi ambiti cronologici, a differenti gruppi etnici e in cui non si registrano piene sincronie tra i diversi siti. Le altre aree culturali, che ruotano intorno a Velia (Monte della Stella, Monte Gelbison, Moio della Civitella, Camerota-Vallone Mancina) presentano una documentazione prevalentemente di età ellenistica, soprattutto nel corso del III sec. a.C. Anche l'analisi di un altro indicatore, relativo alle fortificazioni di frontiera (capitolo 4, p. 40-51), offre nuove letture per il sistema difensivo, individuato e ricostruito da E. Greco, nel 1975, con quattro siti di controllo (Punta della Carpinina, Moio della Civitella, Torricelli, Castelluccio), disposti tutto intorno al territorio eleate. Questo quadro viene ridimensionato e modificato, soprattutto attraverso la difficile attribuzione dei punti fortificati ai diversi attori di questo quadrante geopolitico. I siti di Punta della Carpinina e di Castelluccio, sulla base degli schemi della visibilità, vengono interpretati come punti di controllo degli approdi costieri e riferiti non agli Eleati ma ai Lucani, rispettivamente di Poseidonia e di Roccagloriosa. Anche questo tipo di indicatore, quindi, dimostrerebbe la maggiore ampiezza del territorio di questi ultimi due centri, a detrimento di quello eleate. Per il territorio di Elea vengono proposti altri punti di controllo (Tempa San Felice, Tempa della Rondinella) di tipo non stanziale e non fortificato, con un buon grado di visibilità, oltre a Moio della Civitella che costituirebbe un vero e proprio *phourion* elate e non lucano, a differenza delle interpretazioni più recenti. L'insieme di questi punti fortificati, tranne Moio che ha restituito pochi materiali tardo arcaici, rimanda ad un ambito cronologico prevalentemente di età ellenistica. Il sistema difensivo di Elea, sulla base dell'analisi della distribuzione di alcune deposizioni funerarie, contraddistinte dalla tipologia a camera e dalla presenza delle armi, sembra essere affidato anche a un'altra risorsa importante costituita dai mercenari italici (capitolo 5, p. 52-57). Le truppe frontaliere, assoldate dagli Eleati, avrebbero consentito un controllo anche di aree poco adatte per una presenza stabile, risultando più vantaggiose rispetto alla costruzione di fortificazioni. A questi mercenari l'Autore attribuisce anche le tracce di piccoli luoghi di culto, soprattutto nelle zone montane con buon grado di visibilità sulla *chora*, come testimonianza di una "religiosità privata che, al tempo stesso, marca i confini della città". Il dibattito sulle presenze italiche nel territorio eleate e, più in generale, sui possibili segni culturali che ne derivano anche in ambito cittadino si è andato sviluppando negli ultimi decenni, con lo studio dei materiali e di alcuni complessi culturali. Il mercenariato, di fatto, produce anche delle forme di coabitazione di gruppi anellenici, riconoscibili finora soprattutto nelle aree più interne, che potevano aver stimolato processi di interazione i cui effetti andranno meglio definiti, anche nella loro continuità. Le ricerche in siti come Caselle in Pittari, ad esempio, stanno offrendo numerosi spunti per cogliere i segni dei rapporti con il mondo lucano, come evidenza, tra le altre cose, la presenza della tecnica edilizia a scacchiera, ben documentata a Elea. La nuova configurazione del territorio eleate suggerisce all'Autore anche la possibilità di riconoscere delle aree considerate "terra di

nessuno” (*methoria*), sia lungo il confine con Poseidonia (Ortodonico, Acciaroli) sia a sud (Catona, Terradura) (capitolo 6, p. 58-67; fig. 30). Rispetto a questo assetto territoriale si registrerebbe, da parte di Elea, una spinta espansiva prevalentemente lungo la fascia costiera, per il controllo del mare e degli approdi che restano interdetti agli italici. Interessante, nella prospettiva diacronica, è la continuità della presenza lungo le aree di confine nel periodo tra fine III e inizi II sec. a.C., che trova un riscontro parallelo nella risistemazione delle fortificazioni della città, delineando, per l’Autore, un intervento complessivo sul sistema di difesa dei “margin” urbani e territoriali. A monte di tutta l’organizzazione della *chora* di Elea resta il problema della presenza enotria al momento della nascita della città, un tema molto complesso e dibattuto soprattutto sul piano della tradizione letteraria (capitolo 7, p. 68-79). De Magistris propone la revisione di alcuni materiali, provenienti dal territorio eleate, datandoli al VII sec. a.C. e considerandoli come la traccia di una presenza anteriore all’arrivo dei Focei e allo stesso insediamento di Palinuro. In quest’ultimo sito, peraltro, l’Autore riconosce forme stanziali, reinterpretando un muro curvilineo, attribuito precedentemente alla fase più antica delle fortificazioni di fine VI sec. a.C., come parte di una capanna datata alla seconda età del Ferro. Questa proposta di De Magistris riapre certamente la discussione sulla presenza enotria che, tuttavia, anche nel territorio si dimostra, per quanto riguarda la ceramica, quantitativamente ancora molto circoscritta, così come accade nei contesti urbani di Elea, dove compaiono pochissimi frammenti nell’ambito delle stratigrafie finora esplorate. Restano da chiarire le forme e le modalità di queste presenze e l’eventuale rapporto con la circolazione della ceramica enotria. La ricostruzione del profilo economico di Elea, sulla base dei dati territoriali discussi, parte dallo studio di una risorsa importante, come il sale, sia per gli Eleati, considerando le indicazioni di Strabone (VI.1.1) sulle *taricheiai*, sia per gli Enotri spintisi verso le coste (capitolo 8, p. 80-87). Si propone un’interessante ipotesi sul riconoscimento di saline ricavate sulla costa di Punta degli Infreschi e di Palinuro, dove si segnalano anche attività estrattive di pietra per le fortificazioni urbane. In questa ottica andrebbe letta, per l’Autore, la priorità del controllo della fascia costiera da parte di Elea, relativamente agli approdi, alla pesca e alla salagione. Le ipotesi ricostruttive appaiono senza dubbio aderenti al quadro territoriale ricostruito, ma portano ad escludere, in maniera forse troppo decisa, altre possibilità, come eventuali interventi di miglioramento della resa agricola delle pianure costiere, “almeno fino alla deduzione dei veterani di età flavia”. La parte finale del lavoro presenta un catalogo essenziale dei materiali diagnostici (capitolo 9, p. 88-116). Il libro di De Magistris appare estremamente ricco di spunti e di elementi che, in molti casi, riaprono su una nuova base problematica il dibattito sul territorio eleate e la sua definizione. Considerata anche l’impostazione dell’attività sul campo, condotta individualmente (*one-man survey*), la documentazione raccolta si dimostra molto ampia, così come importante è il tentativo di contestualizzare anche le conoscenze pregresse, un aspetto che consente all’Autore alcune riletture stimolanti. Proprio per la scelta tematica che orienta tutto il lavoro, poteva risultare utile anche un breve catalogo descrittivo dei singoli siti, alcuni dei quali richiamati in maniera molto sintetica nella discussione, ma rilevanti proprio per la novità dei dati, come, ad esempio, le numerose realtà produttive di ceramica o laterizi segnalate nel territorio. Le riflessioni sui diversi indicatori, analizzati sul nesso “frontiera-visibilità” o sul valore distintivo di bacini oroidrografici omogenei, modificano diverse proposte consolidate in letteratura. Quel che appare molto complesso è il problema delle diacronie dei diversi indicatori, espressione di un contesto che si è evoluto e trasformato nel tempo. Resta ancora da definire il quadro dell’organizzazione territoriale tra fine VI e V sec. a.C., per la quale non sussistono ancora sufficienti dati. La documentazione archeologica di superficie si concentra soprattutto tra IV e III sec. a.C.,

lasciando aperti numerosi interrogativi sull'effettiva e completa sovrapponibilità dell'organizzazione territoriale nelle diverse fasi cronologiche, in particolar modo nella dialettica tra fascia costiera ed aree interne.

Luigi CICALA.

Valérie FROMENTIN / Estelle BERTRAND / Michèle COSTELLONI-TRANNOY / Michel MOLIN / Giampaolo URso (ed.), *Cassius Dion : nouvelles lectures*, Bordeaux, Ausonius (diff. de Boccard, Paris), 2016 (Scripta antiqua, 94), 25 × 17,5 cm, 2 vol., coffret, 881 p., 45 €, ISBN 978-2-35613-175-1.

Cassius Dio gehört zu denjenigen Autoren, die oft zitiert, aber nur vergleichsweise selten systematisch erforscht werden, was vermutlich einerseits seinem komplizierten Überlieferungszustand, andererseits aber der die Aufmerksamkeit auf sich ziehenden prominenten Konkurrenz Tacitus und Sueton geschuldet ist. Neben einem vollständigen Kommentar fehlte bislang auch ein Handbuch (oder ein „companion“, um eine in der englischsprachigen Forschung geläufige Bezeichnung zu verwenden), das einen breit gefassten Überblick über alle wesentlichen Aspekte des dionischen Werkes bietet. Ein solches Handbuch liegt nunmehr mit dem hier zu besprechenden Sammelband vor. Dieser enthält, die beiden Vorworte nicht einberechnet, insgesamt 46 Beiträge (sprachliche Verteilung: 37 französisch, sechs italienisch, zwei englisch, einer deutsch), die zudem thematisch so breit gestreut sind, dass eine vollständige Rezension entweder ein besseres Inhaltsverzeichnis oder übermäßig lang wäre, ohne sich aber wirklich kompetent zu jedem einzelnen Beitrag äußern zu können. Ich gebe daher zunächst einen Überblick über die Untergliederung der Bände, um dann näher auf die fünf überlieferungs- und rezeptionsgeschichtlichen Beiträge einzugehen. Eröffnet wird der Band mit einem Vorwort von Fergus Millar (S. 9-10), das entgegen dem, was der Titel „Préface“ vermuten lässt, in englischer Sprache gehalten ist, und einem weiteren der Herausgeber (S. 11-16). Teil I ist der direkten und indirekten Überlieferung gewidmet. Der erste Abschnitt (S. 21-38) wirft einen Blick auf die handschriftliche Überlieferung, während der zweite (S. 41-108) die byzantinischen Benutzer des Werkes einer genaueren Prüfung unterzieht. Teil II befasst sich mit dem Stand des Historiographen zur Zeit der Severer. Dabei werden zum einen (S. 113-268) die Quellen Dios in den Blick genommen (vor allem Livius, Polybios und Dionysios von Halikarnassos), zum anderen (S. 271-414) die Geschichtsdarstellung Dios und sein Blick auf frühere Epochen. In Teil III wird Dio als Mensch und Politiker seiner Zeit dargestellt. Den Abschnitt zum Senator Dio (S. 431-482), der den zweiten Band einleitet, wäre als biographisch-prosopographisch mit einer Einordnung in die zeitgenössische Gesellschaft zu beschreiben. Ein weiterer Abschnitt (S. 485-541) befasst sich mit Dios Verwendung der griechischen Sprache für lateinische / römische Dinge. Im dritten Abschnitt (S. 545-577) geht es um das politische Denken Dios, im vierten (S. 581-675) um die politischen Institutionen, der letzte zu „Rome et son empire“ (S. 679-798) enthält neben einigen Beiträgen zum Imperium Romanum noch alle Beiträge, die sich anscheinend nicht sinnvoll in die übrigen Abschnitte eingliedern ließen. Ich muss bekennen, mich nicht kompetent zu jedem einzelnen Aufsatz äußern zu können (so fehlt mir etwa für die Republik das notwendige Spezialwissen), aber ich bin stets und insbesondere dort, wo mir ein zuverlässiges Urteil möglich ist, auf kompetente, gut lesbare und auf dem Stand der modernen Forschung befindliche Ausführungen gestoßen. Wenn nun der Abschnitt zur Rezeption und indirekten Überlieferung Dios näher geprüft wird, hat das neben den Forschungsschwerpunkten des Rezensenten vor allem den Grund, dass entsprechende Ausführungen bislang allenfalls in Ansätzen existiert haben und die systematischen Vergleiche des echten Textes des Cassius Dio und dem seiner byzantinischen Abschreiber somit eine elementare Lücke füllen. Laura

Mecella (*La ricezione di Cassio Dione alla fine dell'antichità*, S. 41-50) bietet eine Zusammenstellung nachweislicher und wahrscheinlicher Benutzer des dionischen Werkes in der Spätantike. Nach der Diskussion einiger möglicher Fälle (Asinius Quadratus, Dexippos, Ammianus Marcellinus, der nur fragmentarisch erhaltene Profanhistoriker Eusebius, Eunapios) wendet sie sich mit Herodian und der *Historia Augusta* den zwei diesbezüglich wichtigsten Werken zu. Ihre Ergebnisse lauten: Herodian hat Dios Werk direkt benutzt; Abweichungen davon gehen nicht unbedingt auf eine zweite schriftliche Quelle zurück. Die *Historia Augusta* hat Dios Werk nicht systematisch konsultiert, sondern als eine von vielen Quellen, zumal auch eine indirekte Vermittlung von Material durch die Enmannsche Kaisergeschichte anzunehmen ist. Weiterhin behandelt Mecella noch einige weitere Autoren (den Eutropiusübersetzer Paianios, Eustathios von Epiphaneia über die Fragmente bei Evagrius, eine Handschrift aus Caesarea aus dem spätem fünften Jahrhundert, das Lexikon *peri syntaxeos*, Johannes Antiochenus, Johannes Lydos, Jordanes, konstantinische Exzerpte). Ergänzen ließe sich noch das mögliche Echo Dios bei Aurelius Victor 10,5 (*lautusque uenenus interit* mit Dufraigne und Fuhrmann / Groß-Albenhausen). Über das Verhältnis zwischen Cassius Dio und der *Historia Augusta* handelt noch Samuel Christan Zinsli, *Kommentar zur Vita Heliogabali der Historia Augusta*, Bonn, 2014 (Diss. Zürich, 2012), S. 36-46 sowie einige der leider im ganzen Band nicht verwerteten Forschungen von Ernst Hohl (siehe S. 819), der sich von Anfang an bis zuletzt gegen die These einer Dio-Benutzung aussprach. Der wichtige Beitrag von Umberto Roberto (*L'interesse per Cassio Dione in Pietro Patrizio e nella burocrazia palatina dell'età di Giustiniano*, S. 51-67) ist die lange benötigte eingehende Studie zum Wert des Petros Patrikios, einem in justinianischer Zeit schreibenden Autor eines fragmentarisch erhaltenen und praktisch nur auf Dio zurückgehenden Geschichtswerkes (dazu auch *Latomus* 76, 2017, S. 1078-1083), worin, wohl zum ersten Mal überhaupt, beide Werke systematisch verglichen werden. Die Ergebnisse Robertos lauten: Johannes Lydos hat Dio nur aus zweiter Hand gekannt. Petros hat Dio direkt benutzt, aber seine Vorlage oft auf verschiedene Arten modifiziert (Kommentare, persönliche Bemerkungen, Umformung von Text zu direkter Rede, Dramatisierungen, Einarbeitungen von Latinismen und Fachausdrücke, Fehler und Auslassungen). Petros bietet eine gute, aber keine exakte Überlieferung Dios, zumal auch seine Materialauswahl auf seine persönlichen Präferenzen (vor allem zum Thema der monarchischen Herrschaft) abgestimmt ist. Da die grundlegenden Editionen die Fragmente des Petros durchgehend als Text Dios bieten und dieser dementsprechend oft ohne Bedenken als echter Dio zitiert wird, kann eine genaue Lektüre dieses Aufsatzes nicht nachdrücklich genug empfohlen werden. Weitgehend auf bereits vorhandene Forschungen stützt sich dagegen der zweite Beitrag von Umberto Roberto (*Giovanni di Antiochia e la tradizione di Cassio Dione*, S. 69-80), der danach fragt, in welchem Ausmaß das ebenfalls nur fragmentarisch erhaltene Geschichtswerk des Johannes Antiochenus, eine nicht genau datierbare (laut Roberto aus dem frühen siebten Jahrhundert) und oft weitgehend wortgetreue Kompilation verschiedener älterer Quellen, sich auf Dio gestützt hat. Hierzu ist festzuhalten: Für die republikanische Geschichte wurde Dio nur für die Zeit des Lucullus ausführlicher herangezogen. Für die Kaiserzeit wurde er immer wieder konsultiert und auch die späten Büchern Dios sind Johannes bekannt, auch wenn er sich mit dem Einsetzen Herodians hauptsächlich auf dessen Werk stützt. Die vorrangige Bedeutung des Xiphilinos, der im späteren elften Jahrhundert einen Auszug aus Dio für den Zeitraum von 69 v. Chr. bis 229 n. Chr. anfertigte, wird in dem Aufsatz von Bénédicte Berbessou-Broustet (*Xiphilin, abrégiateur de Cassius Dion*, S. 81-94) sehr gut deutlich. Seine detaillierte Analyse zeigt, dass Xiphilinos eine getreue Kurzfassung seiner Vorlage bietet, die kaum eigene Kommentare beisteuert und sogar die Passagen, in denen Dio von sich in der ersten

Person spricht, wortwörtlich beibehält (das macht übrigens auch Paulus Diaconus in seiner primär auf Eutropius zurückgehenden *Historia Romana*; das Phänomen wäre wohl eine eingehende Untersuchung wert). Wesentliche Abweichungen gegenüber Dio sind nur insofern gegeben, dass Xiphilinos zwar nicht in die Chronologie eingreift, aber die Organisation und Anordnung des Werkes stellenweise verändert; zudem übt er an drei Stellen Kritik an Dio. Unbeachtet bleibt die (auch im sonstigen Band nicht zur Kenntnis genommene: S. 812) These von Christopher T. H. R. Ehrhardt, *Dio Cassius christianised*, in *Prudentia* 26/2, 1994, S. 26-28, der die bei Xiphilinos überlieferten Worte des Kaisers Otho, mit denen dieser seinen Selbstmord begründet, als Interpolation auf Basis des Johannesevangeliums ansieht. Ebenfalls exzellent ist die von Marion Bellissime und Bénédicte Berbessou-Broustet (*L'Histoire romaine de Zonaras*, S. 95-108) durchgeführte Analyse des Zonaras, dessen am Anfang des zwölften Jahrhunderts verfasster Geschichtsabriss die zweite wichtige Rekonstruktionsbasis für Dios Werk bietet. Zentral ist bei diesem Werk die Frage, inwieweit Zonaras auf Dio selbst und inwieweit auf Xiphilinos zurückgeht. Der Vergleich der drei Werke führt zu folgendem Ergebnis: Die Bücher 61-67 Dios hat Zonaras definitiv direkt konsultiert, ebenso die Bücher 68-69, während er sich für den von den Büchern 70-71 abgedeckten Zeitraum (hier musste Xiphilinos eine größere Lücke in den Handschriften konstatieren) auf Xiphilinos stützt, aber zusätzliche Details bietet, die aus dem vollständigen Dio, aber auch aus einem nicht erhaltenen konstantinischen Exzerpt der nur teilweise erhaltenen Sammlung thematisch geordneter Textauszüge des Konstantin VII. Porphyrogenetos (zehntes Jahrhundert) stammen könnte. In ihrem Text der letzten Bücher weisen Xiphilinos und Zonaras gegenüber dem hier erhaltenen Dio gemeinsame Fehler auf, so dass Zonaras nicht auf Dio selbst zurückgehen kann. Das Gesamtergebnis lautet also: Für Dios Bücher 1-21 ist Zonaras ein wichtiger Textzeuge, in den Büchern 36-43 stützt er sich in größerem Ausmaß auf Plutarch, in den Büchern 44-60 wird wieder Dio in größerem Ausmaß herangezogen und bei den Büchern 60-80 wird Dio bis zum Bericht über die Zeit der Flavii herangezogen und danach gelegentlich zur Ergänzung des nun als Vorlage dienenden Xiphilinos benutzt. Methodisch unterscheidet sich Zonaras von Xiphilinos dadurch, dass er nicht nur exzerpiert und verkürzt, sondern die Angaben Dios mit denen anderer Autoren zusammenkompiliert. Die Länge der übernommenen Passagen entspricht im Durchschnitt etwa 30-40% dessen, was Xiphilinos hat, variiert aber stark (zwischen 9 und 90%). Zonaras streicht technische Passagen sowie die meisten Reden, behält aber die Angaben, in denen Dio von sich in der ersten Person spricht, unverändert bei. Zu den genannten Übersetzungen des Zonaras (S. 96, Anm. 7) ist noch Stephanie Brecht, *Die römische Reichskrise von ihrem Ausbruch bis zu ihrem Höhepunkt in der Darstellung byzantinischer Autoren*, Rahden, 1999 (Diss. Würzburg, 1998/99) zu ergänzen, die deutsche Übersetzungen byzantinischer Chroniken, darunter Zonaras, für die Zeit von Severus Alexander bis Gallienus bietet. Für die Quellenbenutzung des Zonaras könnte jetzt noch auf Theofili Kampianaki, *Plutarch's Lives in the Byzantine chronographic tradition: the chronicle of John Zonaras*, in *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 41, 2017, S. 15-29 verwiesen werden; zwei weitere im Druck befindliche Aufsätze derselben Forscherin werden sich jeweils mit Plutarch und Flavius Josephus als Quelle des Zonaras befassen. Lücken sind weniger im Bereich der Aufsätze als vielmehr darin, welche Beiträge fehlen, zu verorten. Beispielsweise sucht man einen Aufsatz über die Stellung Dios zu Juden und Christen oder auch zur Religion allgemein vergeblich. Sehr nützlich wäre auch die Erweiterung des Überlieferungsgeschichtlichen Kapitels um eine Analyse der konstantinischen Exzerpte, die nur von Mecella kurz gestreift werden, gewesen. Der Registerteil (S. 843-877) beschränkt sich auf Passagen aus Dio; andere Quellenstellen (von Namen und Sachen ganz zu schweigen) werden nicht berücksichtigt. Somit bleibt

als Gesamturteil festzuhalten: Die Aufsätze decken die meisten wichtige Aspekte von Dios Geschichtswerk ab, erweisen sich als kompetent und gut informiert, behandeln manche Themen erstmals überhaupt systematisch und zudem ist der Preis von 45 € für ein zweibändiges Werk von fast neunhundert Seiten sehr großzügig bemessen. Was hier vorliegt, ist ein unverzichtbares Arbeitsinstrument, von dem zu wünschen ist, dass es in regelmäßigen Abständen geprüft und aktualisiert wird, um in Form künftiger Neuauflagen auch längerfristig diesen Zweck optimal erfüllen zu können. Positiv ist auch das Urteil bisheriger Rezensenten: Alexander Free, in *Klio* (im Druck, wurde mir durch die Freundlichkeit des Autors zugänglich); Aleksandr Makhlaiuk, in *BMCR*, Dezember 2017, Nr. 15 (<http://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/2017/2017-12-15.html>). Raphael BRENDL.

Gianni GUASTELLA, *Word of Mouth: Fama and its Personifications in Art and Literature from Ancient Rome to the Middle Ages*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2017, 24 × 16 cm, 431 p., 46 ill., 85 £, ISBN 978-0-19-872429-2.

Cet ouvrage étudie la *fama* et ses représentations mentales de l'Antiquité à la fin du Moyen Âge, tant au travers de la littérature que des arts, et cela sans vouloir être systématique et encyclopédique, ce qui aurait rendu l'entreprise moins réaliste. Rappelons que le mot *fama* recouvre deux réalités différentes ; à la fois renommée / réputation et rumeur / ragot, la *fama* constitue un vecteur d'informations non négligeable à des époques où les techniques ne permettaient pas une communication instantanée, aussi bien écrite qu'orale, sur de longues distances. Les cinq premiers chapitres (p. 13-152) se concentrent sur la naissance et la transmission des rumeurs, ainsi que sur leurs aspects généraux, étudiés à l'aide d'exemples historiques illustratifs et à la lumière des théories modernes (p. 91-114). Les généralités qui y sont développées, non sans répétitions et recouvrements partiels de données, donnent à ces chapitres une allure introductive qui pêche par le manque de structure et d'esprit de synthèse : le cheminement intellectuel de l'auteur n'apparaît pas de manière limpide, les extraits des sources citées sont agencés de manière empirique et organique sans suivre une démonstration, les écarts chronologiques entre deux évènements ou deux sources sont parfois trop importants – bien que cela soit une conséquence logique d'une approche *per species* –, les aspects traités se recoupent partiellement de chapitres en chapitres, lesquels, par conséquent, se chevauchent. L'auteur aurait gagné à condenser son propos en traitant successivement, sans allers-retours, les caractéristiques générales de la *fama* tant chez les Grecs que chez les Romains, ainsi que les représentations mentales qui lui sont associées. Ce dernier aspect constitue le cœur de l'étude à partir du chapitre 6 (*Giving Rumour a Body*, p. 153-184). Les personifications de la *fama*-Φήμη y sont étudiées dans l'ordre chronologique des sources disponibles. L'évolution des représentations mentales de la *fama*-Φήμη est retracée depuis Homère, en passant par Hésiode, l'autel de la Φήμη dans la sphère culturelle grecque, *Aius Locutius* / *Loquens* chez les Romains, jusqu'à Virgile, point charnière de la personification de la *fama* – la description au Chant IV de l'*Énéide* exerçant une influence considérable sur la postérité –, sans oublier Ovide. Entité impersonnelle à l'origine surnaturelle, voire divine, la *fama* prend véritablement corps avec Virgile. Le chapitre 7 (*Beyond Death*, p. 185-250) se concentre sur l'étude de la *fama*-renommée chez Cicéron, Boèce et saint Augustin, tandis que le chapitre 8 (*Giving Glory a Body*, p. 251-318) étudie les représentations mentales de la *fama*-renommée, depuis Virgile, Horace et Properce jusqu'à la fin du Moyen Âge avec, à l'appui, des illustrations d'excellente qualité. Le chapitre 9 (*Contaminations*, p. 319-354) étudie les représentations iconographiques de la *fama* influencées par les auteurs antiques vers la fin du Moyen Âge. Le chapitre 10 (*Chaucer, House of Fame*, p. 355-384) se concentre sur l'héritage antique

et médiéval de la conception de la *fama* dans l'œuvre de Chaucer. La conclusion (p. 385-390), plutôt que de rassembler en une synthèse la grande quantité de matériel traitée dans les dix chapitres précédents, esquisse des prolongements vers le XVI^e siècle – signe que, des mots mêmes de l'auteur (p. 387), « the aim of this book was simply to show how, from the semantic “tree” of a polysemous concept like the one the Romans expressed with the term *fama*, the extensive series of personifications I am discussing began to take shape ». La tranche chronologique retenue est trop vaste pour que les diverses époques soient traitées d'une façon systématique. L'ouvrage lance des coups de projecteur sur les passages clés d'auteurs antiques et médiévaux, qu'il assortit d'exemples historiques illustratifs. Il offre plutôt une trajectoire particulière au sein d'un matériel dense, selon une structure chronologique superposée à une structure thématique. Il semble que la démonstration aurait gagné en impact à se voir concentrée sur des périodes chronologiques plus courtes et en traitant des problématiques précises. En conclusion, *Word of Mouth* est une vue d'ensemble largement enrichie de frappes chirurgicales aux endroits stratégiques de l'étude.

Loïc BORGIES.

Thomas HUFSCMID (ed.), *Theaterbauten als Teil monumentaler Heiligtümer in den nordwestlichen Provinzen des Imperium Romanum: Architektur – Organisation – Nutzung*, Basel, Schwabe, 2016 (Forschungen in Augst / Augusta Raurica, 50), 30,2 × 21,2 cm; 260 p., fig., ill., cartes, 100 €, ISBN 978-3-7151-0050-0.

The theatres of the North-West provinces of the Roman empire (conveniently, if imprecisely, known as “Gallo-Roman theatres”) have long been recognised as constituting an anomalous group, differing from the classic Roman theatres elsewhere in the empire especially in the reduced importance of the stage and scene-buildings. Where theatres of standard type are characterised by the great scene-wall rising the full height of the auditorium and enclosing the whole structure along its diameter, the great majority of theatres in this region have only a low and shallow platform, or no sign of a stage at all; in some the orchestra resembles an arena. Many of them are located outside the town-centre and in close association with a temple or sanctuary. There has been much debate about their uses: were they, for instance, used for “normal” stage-performances as found elsewhere in the Graeco-Roman world, or rather dedicated only to cultic celebrations? And does the resemblance of some of them to amphitheatres imply that their primary use was for gladiators and *uenationes*, reflecting a lack of interest in these regions in traditional theatre? The present volume is the product of a colloquium held in September 2013 in Augst, following the completion of the restoration of the theatre of *Augusta Raurica*. The well-studied theatre offers a particularly striking example of the integration of the theatre with a sanctuary; the *cauea* looks directly, with minimal interruption from stage or scene-building, at the monumental staircase leading up to the temple on the Schönbühl hill. In the neighbouring capital of *Auenticum* / Avenches theatre and temple are similarly directly linked. A main theme of the colloquium, as the title indicates, is the relationship of these and other Gallo-Roman theatres to their contexts in association with temples and sanctuaries, and the implications of this in terms of cult activities such as processions from one to the other. Larger questions of the possible functions of the theatres are discussed with reference to the specific building history of individual theatres, as well as comparative evidence from elsewhere in the empire. The editor, Thomas Hufschmid, has already used a detailed study of the amphitheatre at *Augusta Raurica* as the starting point for a broader exploration of the functions, social, political and religious, of Roman amphitheatres. The present volume similarly anchors the discussion in specific Gallo-Roman theatres, here as a series of separate

contributions by scholars who are often closely involved with the sites and monuments in question. The structure goes from the general to the more particular. Introductory essays (D. Schmid, J.-C. Moretti) are followed by a prologue (J.-P. Thuillier) on the religious origins of the Roman games, alongside their more profane role as *uoluptates* for the spectators. A section entitled “Gesellschaftliche Hintergründe” then contains a general article by Hufschmid on the problem of the uses of the Gallo-Roman theatres, which stresses their multifunctionality, the possibilities that performance, especially of the genres popular in the empire, could take place in a variety of spaces besides a traditional stage, the use of theatres as places of assembly, and especially the importance of the theatre in the imperial cult. Comparative material is cited from elsewhere, such as inscriptions from Gytheion and Ephesos and a papyrus from Arsinoe, all attesting to processions bearing imperial images to the theatre. Some of the same material is then reviewed in an article on the imperial cult (M. Cavalieri), though the author emphasises the absence of direct evidence from the region of the Three Gauls, and the likelihood that regional patterns differed. W. Spickermann surveys the inscriptions from Gaul and Germany concerning the dedication of theatres or parts of theatres by individual donors. The number is very limited, from only 21 sites in the whole region, and the information contained often even more so; many have a dedication to a deity and/or to the emperor(s) or imperial house. The following section, headed by the unlovely title “Glokalisierung”, is more disparate in content. D. Bomgardner discusses the very well preserved theatre at Lepcis Magna – the only theatre outside the North-West provinces discussed in detail – and stresses the existence in it of sanctuaries to *Ceres Augusta* and to the *Di Augusti*. I. Nielsen follows up her earlier work on cultic theatres with a comparison of the types found in the Greek, Italic, Roman, and Gallo-Roman worlds, but acknowledges that there may be too much variation in the Gallo-Roman theatres to allow a schematic typology. M. Poux then asks about possible precursors for the form of Gallo-Roman theatre, whose earliest known examples date from the second quarter of the 1st century AD, by which date the classic type of theatre was already established elsewhere in the Gallic provinces. He raises the possibility of wooden antecedents, perhaps going back to Celtic structures designed as places of assembly, but acknowledges that the evidence is inconclusive. In the next section, on the use of the theatres and sanctuaries, two papers look at ways in which those parts of the theatres that have been seen as most problematic may have been used in practice. F. Ferreira tackles the question of the uses of the stage and its scene-buildings. Early excavations may have failed to recognise (or conversely may have invented) evidence for such structures; in the theatre at Vieil-Évreux, first excavated in the mid-19th century, recent excavations have demonstrated successive extensions of the stage and the scene-building behind. He discusses various ways in which the known stages might have been used, including performances that required only a few actors such as pantomime, as well as alternative proposals for their use, for instance as a tribunal for the exhibition of imperial images; and concludes that the buildings were multi-functional and designed for a variety of spectacles. M. Fuchs looks at the decoration of the *scaenae frontes*, for which again very little evidence survives; only in a very few instances (*Argentomagus*, possibly *Auenticum*) are there any grounds for supposing a scene wall with extensive decoration. The other two papers in this section focus on a single structure or complex. F. Dumasy takes the theatre at *Argentomagus* / Saint-Marcel as her theme, looking at both the functional potential of stage-platform and scene building and the arrangements for privileged entrance and seating for elite spectators. P. Bridel considers the patterns of movement in all the structures of the Sanctuary ‘du Cigognier’ at *Auenticum*, temple-complex, theatre, and nearby amphitheatre, and the arrangements made in each building to accommodate spectators coming from different locations. The

final section discusses current and ongoing investigations at five sites: *Augusta Rau-rica* / Augst (Hufschmid), Drevant (C. Palermo), *Epomanduodurum* / Mandeuere (S. Blin, J.-Y. Marc), *Ricciacum* / Dalheim (P. Henrich), and *Verulamium* / St Albans (T. Wilmott), the only theatre in Britain identifiable as of this type. The impossibility of assigning a single pattern of use to these varying buildings emerges strongly from these descriptions. In the theatre at Augst three phases have been identified, which differed in their primary functions. The first, of Flavian date, had a round arena / orchestra; if there was a (small) scene-building it was obliterated by later construction. The subsequent insertion of rows of privileged seating in the arena / orchestra would have rendered it unsuitable for wild beast games. In the Trajanic period the structure was replaced by a semi-amphitheatre with oval arena, which in turn was replaced in the late Antonine period by a more regular, and more monumental, theatre, though apparently without stage or scene-building, the view open to the processional way leading to the temple. The construction, a little earlier, of the new amphitheatre outside the city centre would have made the use of the older building for *uenationes* unnecessary; but the rebuilding did not involve the addition of a permanent stage-building. The theatre at *Verulamium* similarly passed through various phases and apparent changes of function, starting with a combined 'theatre-amphitheatre' with a circular arena / orchestra; there was a small stage behind the wall of the arena, and provision for a post to which beasts may have been tied in its centre. In a subsequent phase seating was inserted in the arena / orchestra, and a stage thrust forward into it; further phases saw the extension and enlargement of this stage. It is not clear whether there was ever a separate amphitheatre in the town. A concluding chapter (Hufschmid / T. Späth) summarises the final discussion. The identification of these theatres as 'cult-theatres', that is, reserved only for specific ritual celebrations, is firmly rejected; no building on such a scale could have been limited to such occasional uses. Rather, there was no sharp distinction between 'profane' and 'cultic', and religious ritual was inseparable from every sort of activity that might take place in the theatre. Nevertheless it may be objected that (most of) the theatres considered in this volume had a closer link with temples than theatres that were more conventionally placed within urban centres; the relationship with the temple, and the processions that would take place between the two, clearly played a major role in the design of the theatre. The imperial cult may be taken to have constituted a central part of all these ceremonies, though hard evidence is mostly lacking; but the heterogeneity of the arrangements shows that its specific form is likely to have varied from place to place. On the uses of the theatres, the obvious conclusion is drawn that they were multifunctional, embracing a wide range of uses: religious processions and related celebrations, such as banquets; places of assembly; as well as settings for *ludi scaenici* and other forms of performance. The nature of these performances is touched on by several of the authors. The size of the stages (e.g. p. 126: at Argentomagus originally 56 m², extended later to 70 m²) was adequate for forms of performance that involved only a limited number of actors, such as a single pantomime dancing; wooden stages may have existed where no traces of any remain; the orchestra could be used for some forms of performance when it was not too cluttered with altars or with the seats of the notables. Mimes undoubtedly could perform in any available space, as they did in the circus and the market-place; and entertainment may frequently have consisted of acrobats, jugglers, and the like. The contrast remains striking between these buildings and the classic theatres of much of the empire, with their stages sometimes up to 50 metres long, designed to accommodate ever more elaborate spectacles. In smaller rural theatres cost may have been a factor, but in the more monumental theatres the choice was clearly deliberate; either other considerations, such as openness to the sanctuary, were seen as more important, or there was no demand from

the public for the sort of spectacles that required a larger stage, and therefore no incentive for benefactors to donate one. The desire to accommodate gladiators and beast-fights sometimes, but not always, contributed to the choices made. Like all multi-authored works, the standard can be uneven. Many of the contributions deal, directly or in comparison, with the same material, leading to some repetition. The same sites are cited repeatedly, even when another entry is devoted to the site in question; comparative material recurs in several places, for instance the Gytheion inscription, the gold bust of Marcus Aurelius found in a drainage channel in the Sanctuary at Avenches, the vase from Sains-du-Nord showing busts, presumably imperial, flanking a statue of Mercury in his temple. Some of the illustrations, both of these objects and of monuments, also appear more than once; a firmer editorial hand might have been desirable here. A map showing the theatres discussed would also be useful. The various contributions in the volume illustrate effectively the variety and heterogeneity of these monuments, the importance of recognising the complex of temple-sanctuary-theatre as an entity, and the ways that this relationship may have worked in practice. There remain, as the editor acknowledges, many further questions concerning the uses of the theatres and the reasons for their existence in this form.

Katherine M. D. DUNBABIN.

Peter KEEGAN, *Roles for Men and Women in Roman Epigraphic Culture and Beyond: Gender, social identity and cultural practice in private Latin inscriptions and the literary record*, Oxford, Archaeopress, 2014 (British Archaeological Reports International Series, 2626), 30 × 21 cm, iv-181 p., 16 fig., 32 £, ISBN 978-1-4073-1261-3.

Dans cet ouvrage, l'auteur, professeur à l'Université Macquarie en Australie, se propose d'examiner la question de l'identité, de la condition sociale et de l'activité culturelle qu'implique le processus de commémoration et de dédicace épigraphique, sur la base d'un corpus d'inscriptions latines « privées » – adjectif qu'il aurait valu la peine de définir plus précisément – de Rome et d'Italie, entre le début du II^e siècle av. J.-C. et la fin du III^e siècle de notre ère. Il s'agit également de montrer comment les femmes y ont pris part tout aussi activement que les hommes, de manière certes différente et dans des contextes généralement considérés comme masculins, qui permettent, par la même occasion, d'entrevoir une perspective exclusivement féminine à travers le concept de *feminea lingua* qui apparaît en filigrane tout au long de l'exposé. L'attention se porte ainsi sur les groupes qui ne font pas partie de l'élite, à savoir les non-citoyens, les esclaves, les affranchi(e)s, les femmes nées libres et les individus vivant aux marges de la société, afin de faire ressortir leur identité sociale. Pour ce faire, Keegan divise son propos en cinq chapitres. Le premier d'entre eux, intitulé « Epitaph and Imagination: Encounters with Difference in Roman Epigraphic Culture » (p. 3-33), emmène le lecteur en voyage entre Ostie et Rome pour présenter des inscriptions, principalement funéraires, que l'auteur commente en les confrontant à des textes littéraires, à des sources juridiques et à des graffites, sans négliger l'archéologie. Chacun des exemples choisis, qui ne sont pas forcément reliés entre eux et dont la reproduction n'est ni systématique ni toujours lisible, révèle des pratiques culturelles qui diffèrent des codes propres aux couches dirigeantes, en dépit de partager avec ces dernières leurs formes d'expression. En outre, c'est l'occasion pour l'auteur d'aborder aussi l'emploi du C. renversé (↵) pour désigner une patronne libérant un(e) esclave qui en fera mention dans sa nomenclature. Le chapitre 2, « Epigraphy and the Symbolic Grammar of Identity » (p. 34-60), cherche à faire apparaître le monde des subordonnés et des marginalisés. Les exemples sélectionnés à cet effet concernent tous des épitaphes, dont la *Laudatio Murdiae* ; l'auteur leur applique une grille d'analyse tirée de la lecture des travaux de P. Bourdieu, J. Butler, M. Foucault ou

L. Irigaray, dont les approches pluridisciplinaires éclairent et étayent son argumentation. Le chapitre 3, « Reconstructing Epigraphic Culture in the Roman World » (p. 61-86), se centre plutôt sur les termes dans lesquels s'expriment les dédicants, sur l'aspect du monument funéraire ainsi que sur son emplacement ; dans sa dernière section, il est question plus spécifiquement d'épithaphes érigées à l'instigation de femmes ou qui leur sont destinées. Le quatrième chapitre, indûment numéroté « 3 », porte comme titre « Recognitions of Gender and Status in Epigraphic Eulogy » (p. 87-122) et prend, d'une certaine façon, la suite de la section précédente. L'auteur y traite de la *Laudatio Turiae*, qu'il soumet à un examen rigoureux qui illustre le rôle joué par la défunte de son vivant et son expression épigraphique par son mari. Pour finir, le dernier et cinquième chapitre, « Rituals of Life and Death in the Eternal City » (p. 123-154), aborde l'examen des *fasti* en les confrontant à l'œuvre homonyme du poète Ovide, afin de dévoiler les pratiques religieuses civiques et domestiques, qui sont autant d'activités culturelles auxquelles prennent part hommes et femmes, tant issus de l'élite que des marges de la société, lesquels interagissent entre eux malgré le fossé qui parfois les sépare. En conclusion, l'ouvrage, marqué du sceau de l'histoire sociale, offre des analyses pénétrantes et des clés d'interprétation applicables à des inscriptions et des monuments – dont la sélection ne paraît pas toujours évidente –, afin de nous faire découvrir et de réhabiliter les femmes et les individus issus des catégories sociales moins privilégiées. Toutefois, on ne peut nier, par la même occasion et à titre d'exemple, la forte empreinte du féminisme et des « gender studies », exposée parfois de manière théorique, ce qui pourra emporter l'adhésion, ou susciter la méfiance, de certains lecteurs. Quoi qu'il en soit, ce volume n'en demeure pas moins une lecture stimulante, même si on peut regretter l'espace géographique fort restreint pris en compte par son auteur.

Anthony ÁLVAREZ MELERO.

Yves LAFOND / Vincent MICHEL (ed.), *Espaces sacrés dans la Méditerranée antique*, Rennes, Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2016 (Collection Histoire), 24 × 16 cm, 360 p., fig., cartes, 21 €, ISBN 978-2-7535-4311-9.

Ce volume dirigé par Y. Lafond et V. Michel recueille les travaux du Colloque qui s'est déroulé à Poitiers en 2011, autour de la thématique des espaces sacrés dans la Méditerranée ancienne, un sujet que les différentes contributions permettent d'explorer en parcourant le pourtour de la Méditerranée à des époques variées. Dès l'avant-propos, Yves Lafond touche aux thématiques structurant cet ouvrage : il est question de définitions, d'action humaine et de sacralité. Le point de départ de la première section s'intitulant « Définitions, caractéristiques, aspects constitutifs » est une réflexion sur l'organisation de l'espace sacré dans les anciennes villes mésopotamiennes. La ville est toujours une fondation nouvelle se justifiant par le rattachement à l'univers religieux ; elle appartient à un dieu. Depuis le trône divin situé dans le temple, la puissance divine émane selon un rayonnement décroissant au fur et à mesure que l'on s'éloigne du *podium* où la divinité siège (J.-C. Margueron). Du fait de son statut spécial, imposant des normes de comportement précises pour y avoir accès, l'espace sacré doit être visible et reconnaissable. Sa délimitation constitue l'acte de consécration, dont les rituels ne sont plus guère saisissables (I. Patera). La contribution de J. Rüpke montre bien que, lorsqu'il est articulé aux notions de public et de privé, le concept de sacré peut être interrogé jusqu'à en reformuler les limites. L'analyse du récit ougaritique du palais de Ba'lu ouvre la section « Aménagement, organisation, gestion de l'espace sacré ». Derrière la transfiguration poétique, nombre d'éléments semblent conforter l'idée que la narration est en relation avec une intervention architecturale, visant à reconstruire le temple du dieu dans la ville d'Ougarit (C. Roche-Hawley). Si l'aménagement des

espaces sacrés remplaçant des centres locaux préexistants est un expédient efficace permettant à Sybaris la prise de possession des territoires constituant sa propre *chôra*, l'exemple du sanctuaire de Timpone della Motta constitue une variante de ce paradigme, car l'édifice se pose en continuité avec un espace sacré indigène et vise le dialogue avec les autochtones oenotriens (M. Costanzi). *Abaton* et *adyton* paraissent deux termes interchangeables pour indiquer non pas un endroit à l'architecture précise, mais un endroit à l'accès restreint, la limitation ne relevant pas de sa nature mais du statut des personnes pouvant y accéder. C'est ainsi que tout fidèle voulant pratiquer l'incubation se voit obligé d'accomplir certains rituels lui permettant l'accès à l'*abaton* / *adyton* pour exécuter le rituel (le regretté P. Sineux). Le Nymphaion d'Apollonia était, dans les sources littéraires, et avant que des aménagements ne le transforment en sanctuaire, *hieron*, un espace sacré, un *hieros topos*. Ce qui fait la sacralité du lieu est en effet sa physionomie topographique, avec le prodige d'une flamme perpétuelle alimentée par un gisement de bitume. Ici, en réunissant les avantages de l'extraction d'une matière première en rapport avec un culte et un oracle, les Apolloniates construisirent un sanctuaire de frontière dont l'emblème, la flamme, était liée dans les consciences au sort de la ville d'Apollonia (F. Quantin). Espace élu par la divinité, habité par elle, l'aire sacrée n'est toutefois pas exempte de l'intervention modificatrice de l'homme. Le sanctuaire d'Artémis de Gerasa et celui de Nabû de Palmyre représentent deux cas où l'action humaine vient modifier, détruire et reconstruire les domaines divins, dans un but de monumentalisation et d'axialité qui ne prend plus en compte les « lois » spécifiques protégeant ces lieux du divin (J. Seigne). L'intervention humaine peut aussi organiser et hiérarchiser l'espace sacré selon un chemin ascensionnel, qui du village de Telanisson amenait jusqu'au sanctuaire paléochrétien de Saint-Siméon l'Ancien, en modulant des aménagements d'accueil pour les pèlerins et des symboles de la sacralité du lieu (D. Pieri). Les contributions de la dernière partie du volume enrichissent les sections intitulées « Pratiques rituelles » et « Symbolisme et représentations ». Nulle trace de bâtiments religieux n'apparaît dans le comptoir de Spina. Cet emporion multiculturel en région padane se distingue par une forte influence étrusque, dont témoigne spécialement l'épigraphie. La découverte d'abécédaires partiels, dans des contextes dont la nature n'est pas claire, invite à considérer l'hypothèse que ces objets aient pu être déposés dans des bâtiments religieux non identifiés à ce jour (M.-L. Haack). Jusqu'à présent, aucun espace dédié à la boucherie ou à la cuisine sacrificielle n'a été mis au jour à proximité des sanctuaires étrusques. Certes, l'archéologie fait état d'espaces de banquets où l'on buvait et consommait la viande, mais leurs modalités nous sont inconnues. Il est ainsi plausible que les animaux qui n'étaient pas rituellement abattus pussent aussi être consommés (L. Hugot). L'identité religieuse de tout citoyen athénien s'articule entre deux pôles : celui de la dimension locale et celui de la dimension civique. L'étude de D. Ackermann porte sur les sanctuaires des dèmes, sur leur topographie et aménagement, ainsi que sur les activités se déroulant dans ces espaces sacrés. B. Caseau montre comment les espaces rituels du christianisme primitif se sont progressivement sacralisés. Si l'eucharistie et le culte des saints ont exigé la sacralisation des espaces physiques des églises, encens et huiles parfumées étaient utilisés pour circonscrire l'espace consacré, tout en impliquant le corps des fidèles dans l'acte de consécration. À partir de l'époque de Constantin, les communautés chrétiennes (ré)écrivent les histoires de martyrs et évêques pour les ancrer dans un lieu spécifique. Signifiés par la présence de reliques, ces nouveaux lieux du christianisme se voient pourvus de véritables mythes de fondations, la construction identitaire se faisant ainsi par l'appropriation de l'espace physique et du temps passé (A. Busine). L'étude de R. Roy montre comment l'association entre espace marginaux, jeunesse et rites initiatiques dans le monde grec n'est pas toujours valable. Le volume se termine par deux contributions

portant sur l'Antiquité tardive, lorsque la christianisation prend racine en opérant une assimilation instrumentale de certains thèmes païens et profanes. Ainsi voit-on que la liturgie théurgique intègre les cultes initiatiques et mystériques, spécialement celui d'Éleusis, pour leur portée anagogique et purificatrice (E. Soler) et que, du moins jusqu'à ce que les interdits antipaïens ne deviennent âpres, des représentations païennes jalonnent les jardins, ainsi que les décors des maisons des particuliers ; la question de la signification profonde de ces représentations demeure toutefois sans réponse (E. Morvillez). On a l'impression que l'homogénéité de l'ouvrage se heurte à la disparité des sujets et des points de vue des contributions, mais le projet se veut ambitieux, à la fois du point de vue spatial (de la Mésopotamie à l'Italie étrusque) et sur le plan temporel (du deuxième millénaire av. J.-C. à l'antiquité tardive et byzantine) ; la dimension comparatiste constitue en outre un défi supplémentaire, qui découle de la juxtaposition des dossiers davantage que d'une véritable comparaison. Dans un tel cadre de travail, l'analyse épigraphique trouve sa place à côté des différentes déclinaisons du cadre théorique, par rapport auquel les travaux ici rassemblés témoignent d'un constant *work in progress*.

Maria BIANCO.

Pietro LI CAUSI / Rosanna MARINO / Marco FORMISANO, *Marco Tullio Cicerone. De Oratore*. Traduzione e commento. Introduzione di Elisa ROMANO, Alessandria, Edizioni dell'Orso, 2015 (Culture antiche, studi e testi, 28), 24 × 17 cm, xxxvi + 601 p., 50 €, ISBN 978-88-6274--596-3.

In this collaborative work, we have, between one cover, an incisive introduction to Cicero's *de Oratore*, the Latin text of the dialogue with an accurate Italian translation facing it, and a fine commentary on the Latin. The Latin text is taken from K. F. Kumaniecki's edition (BT, 1995) and is reprinted without an apparatus; departures from it and discussions of textual matters are presented in the commentary. Li Causi wrote the commentary on Book 1, Marino on Book 2, and Formisano on Book 3; each scholar translated his or her own book, with Li Causi acting as the general editor of the translation. Romano wrote the Introduction, "Il *de Oratore*: retorica, cultura e politica a Roma negli anni 50 a.C.". This volume adds to the rich body of scholarly work on *de Oratore*; it can be warmly recommended to all students of Cicero, Latin literature, and ancient rhetoric. Its format, however, has its own advantages and disadvantages. It offers a concise introduction to current scholarly understanding of *de Oratore*. We find, for example, discussion of how Cicero's "philosophical turn" in the mid-fifties BC relates to the broader question of historical Roman attitudes to rhetorical instruction in Greek versus in Latin (e.g., Plotius Gallus) and thus how Cicero saw *de Oratore* as part of a larger cultural project (p. vii-xiii). That project itself is revealed through the care which Cicero expends on the proem, on the setting and dramatic date, and on the interlocutors of the dialogue, especially, L. Licinius Crassus and M. Antonius (p. xv-xxiv; cf. *ad* 1.24-29; etc.). The authors use the commentary to highlight the structure of the work: individual sections are grouped under thematic headings (e.g., "La prima obiezione di Antonio: la definizione dell'oratore. 1.207-218"). The commentary also provides excellent discussions of technical points of rhetorical theory. Cicero structures *de Oratore* around the tri-part Aristotelian framework of *logos-ethos-pathos*, yet he still includes handbook material such as the *officia oratoris*. The authors lucidly present *ethos* and *pathos* (e.g., *ad* 1.17; 2.178-216), the *officia* (e.g., *ad* 1.138-159; 2.99), the relationships between *inuentio* and *status* theory (*ad* 2.99-113), and the complex interaction between the Roman *patronus* and *cliens* system and the Aristotelian system (*ad* 2.178-216), to highlight just a few topics. I would stress, moreover, that, for every discussion, the most

relevant bibliography is cited. Above all, Li Causi / Martino / Formisano are the first commentators able to use all five volumes of the definitive commentary on *de Oratore* launched by A. D. Leeman / H. Pinkster in 1981 (*M. Tullius Cicero. De Oratore Libri III. Buch I, 1-165*, Heidelberg), but only completed in 2008 by J. Wisse / M. Winterbottom / E. Fantham (*M. Tullius Cicero. De Oratore Libri III. A Commentary on Book III, 96-230*, Heidelberg). Even D. Mankin, for example, was unable to consult the Wisse *et al.* volume for his 2011 edition of Book III (*Cicero: De Oratore. Book III*, Cambridge). The Leeman / Pinkster edition also provides so many additions and corrections to Kumaniecki's *apparatus criticus* that it must be used alongside that text. Li Causi / Martino / Formisano exploit all of this material to their advantage and much more. They include within their capacious bibliographic reach authors such as Assmann and Ricœur on "cultural memory" (e.g., *ad* 2.7), Perelman / Olbrechts-Tyteca on the "New Rhetoric" (*ad* 2.341), and even Italo Calvino on the relationship between writing and reality (*ad* 2.262), among many others. The Bibliography as a whole reflects the rigorous standards of Italian scholarship. The very concision of the book, however, is also its disadvantage. If we compare it, somewhat unfairly, to stand-alone commentaries or translations, we see some of the difficulties. The space available for commentary was necessarily, and understandably, constrained: the text / translation takes up roughly 63% of the volume, the commentary on all three books, some 34% of the total, and the bibliography the remainder. Consider, simply as an example, the discussion of *ornatus* at *de Oratore* 3.96-103. Li Causi / Martino / Formisano print some twenty lemmata for comment (2.25 pages), Mankin was able to offer nearly one hundred and sixty lemmata (8.5 pages), while Wisse *et al.* take 36 pages to discuss this same section. Here, Formisano is still admirably able to refer both to the 19th-century commentaries (Piderit / Harnecker *ad* 3.96; Wilkins *ad* 3.99) and to Wisse *et al.* (*ad* 3.97) as well as register his disagreement with Mankin over the meaning of *poesis* (*ad* 3.100). Yet there is little explanation of the connection between Cicero's discussion of Roscius and citation of the tragic verses (3.102) and the larger *ornatus* argument. Moreover, Wisse *et al.* (*ad* 3.103) offered several fundamental revisions to the translation of May / Wisse reflecting a new, and sharper, understanding of how Cicero is proposing that the orator should be *ornatus et suavis* (J. M. May / J. Wisse, *Cicero On the Ideal Orator [De Oratore]*, New York / Oxford, 2001, p. 255), material that goes unremarked upon. Mankin was able to print a short summary at the head of each section of the work, identifying the themes and arguments; here we see the weakness of the bare thematic headings in Li Causi / Martino / Formisano. For the Italophone community, the format of this volume will help, if not strongly encourage, readers to study the Latin text. The earlier collaborative edition and Italian translation of E. Narducci *et al.* (*Cicerone, Dell'oratore*. Milan, 1994) also offers Kumaniecki's Latin text (albeit the 1969 edition) with the translation facing it, but the notes appear as footnotes, not in a separate section, are far fewer, and are keyed to the Italian, not to the Latin. On the other hand, Narducci's remarkable introduction to that volume, "Eloquenza, retorica, filosofia nel *De Oratore*," still stands as a landmark in study of the treatise. In their superb English translation, May / Wisse offer numerous and detailed notes, keyed to the English, but, unlike both Italian editions, they do not print the Latin text (although they do offer a full List of Readings). May / Wisse's introduction, on the other hand, is far more detailed and comprehensive than Li Causi / Martino / Formisano because it is aimed at a broader audience. A particular strength of May / Wisse, moreover, is the "Synopsis of The Work" (p. 42-48) in which they give a schematic plan of the whole. Thus, each work has its benefits and contributes in its own way to the thriving "ecosystem" of study on *de Oratore*. Cicero scholars will consult this book with profit. So many different scholars, both in Classics departments and in other disciplines

(History, Speech and/or Communication, etc.), come upon *de Oratore* in their teaching and research that we should encourage them to consider Li Causi / Martino / Formisano as well. University and college libraries face tremendous pressures: I could well imagine that the purchase of the five-volume Leeman / Pinkster *et al.* commentary is simply not financially possible for many of them. Li Causi / Martino / Formisano along with Mankin, May / Wisse's translation, and Kumaniecki's text could be assigned in a graduate seminar or to a colleague in another field who wants to learn about *de Oratore*.

Thomas D. FRAZEL.

Francisco MARCO SIMÓN / Francisco PINA POLO / José REMESAL RODRÍGUEZ (ed.), *Auto-retratos. La creación de la imagen personal en la Antigüedad*, Barcelona, Publicacions Universitat de Barcelona, 2016 (Instrumenta, 53), 29,5 × 21 cm, 257 p., fig., 30 €, 978-84-475-4067-9.

Ce livre au beau format in-quarto regroupe quatorze contributions présentées au colloque sur l'autoportrait dans l'Antiquité, qui s'est tenu en juin 2015 à l'Université de Saragosse, présentées sommairement par les éditeurs dans une brève introduction. La première contribution, de Laura Sancho Rocher (« Terámenes: ¿Traidor, "Coturno" o Moderado? », p. 9-40), propose une étude très substantielle de l'apologie de Thérémène dans le livre II des *Helléniques* de Xénophon, quand Thérémène fut accusé de trahison par Critias, l'un des Trente ; l'article montre en particulier l'influence de ce discours sur l'image qui ressort de ce même homme politique controversé dans la *Constitution d'Athènes* d'Aristote. La deuxième contribution (Borja Díaz Ariño, « El papel de la epigrafía en la construcción de la imagen pública de la aristocracia romana en época republicana: inscripciones y botín de guerra », p. 41-58) étudie le rôle de l'épigraphie dans les stratégies d'autoreprésentation mises en œuvre par l'élite romaine à l'occasion des triomphes et de l'exposition du butin de guerre, comme les statues et les divers trophées. Charles Guittard (« Self-portraits in Livy's history: the concept of personal image in the speeches by the "oratores" and the function of rhetoric », p. 59-65) propose quelques considérations factuelles sur les rares passages de l'œuvre de Tite-Live où l'on peut parler de dimension autobiographique, comme les préfaces, ou les esquisses d'autoportraits que l'historien place, par exemple, dans la bouche d'Hannibal et de Scipion dans leurs discours respectifs. Les trois contributions suivantes concernent Cicéron. Alejandro Díaz Fernández (« Retratos del mando provincial en la República romana: Cicerón, Escévola y el denominado *edictum provinciale* », p. 67-86) se penche sur l'image que les gouverneurs de province visaient à donner d'eux-mêmes dans les édits qu'ils étaient amenés à promulguer au cours de leur mandat. Le proconsulat de Cicéron en Cilicie offre un exemple fort bien documenté, grâce à ses lettres, en particulier à son frère, où il brosse le portrait idéal du gouverneur intègre, se référant à l'*edictum Asiaticum* de Q. Mucius Scaevola qui constituait un précédent prestigieux. Dans un article intitulé « Creating a great orator: the self-portrait and reception of Cicero the orator » (p. 87-99), Henriette van der Blom s'intéresse à la réception des discours cicéroniens, et de leur appréciation par Cicéron lui-même dans ses traités oratoires, à l'époque impériale, en particulier chez Sénèque le Rhéteur, Plinius l'Ancien et bien sûr Quintilien qui voyait dans l'Arpinate aussi bien le *perfectus orator* que l'*optimus ciuis*, en raison de sa grande variété oratoire. Nous noterons une référence intéressante aux papyrus d'Égypte et d'Italie qui semblent attester l'importance de Cicéron pour l'apprentissage du latin dans les milieux hellénophones. Enfin, Francisco Pina Polo (« *I, Cicero: Reflections upon myself* », p. 101-114) rappelle que Cicéron a toujours eu le souci de construire son image pour ses contemporains et pour la postérité dans ses discours ou dans les poèmes

consacrés à la gloire de son consulat – au lieu de se référer aux travaux vieillissants de Briot sur la psychanalyse, il aurait été plus judicieux de replacer les traits de caractère mis en valeur par Cicéron lui-même (*moderatio, labor, cupiditas gloriae* ...) dans le contexte de l'ostentation politique à Rome et de la rivalité des *dignitates*, sous leur double aspect politique et rhétorique (voir en ce sens les travaux de Nicolet sur le métier de citoyen à Rome et de Guérin sur la *persona* cicéronienne). Francisco Beltrán Lloris (« La creación de una nueva imagen personal a través del nombre en el tránsito al Principado », p. 115-127) propose une étude documentée de l'évolution de l'onomastique à Rome, depuis l'époque républicaine, où il s'agit moins d'individualiser les personnes que de perpétuer le prestige des *gentes*, jusqu'au début du principat, lorsque l'afflux de nouveaux citoyens et la compétition nobiliaire donnèrent une plus grande importance au *praenomen* et au *cognomen*, comme l'illustre de manière éminente, venant après ceux de Sulla *Felix* et de Pompée *Magnus*, l'exemple de *C. Iulius C.f. Caesar* devenu *Augustus* dans la titulature impériale. Michael Peachin (« Tiberius on Rhodes », p. 129-142) évoque, en s'appuyant sur Velleius Paterculus, Suétone et Tacite, le long séjour de Tibère à Rhodes (entre l'année 6 avant Jésus-Christ et l'an 2 de notre ère), qu'il tint à présenter lui-même non comme un exil forcé dans le contexte politique mouvementé du principat, mais comme un séjour d'étude à l'image des illustres personnages (Eschine, Metellus Numidicus, César) qui l'avaient précédé dans une île célèbre pour ses écoles de philosophie et de rhétorique. Elena Muñiz Grijalvo (« Heródes Ático: autorretrato de un ateniense singular », p. 143-158) s'intéresse au célèbre rhéteur grec évoqué par Philostrate dans ses *Vies des sophistes* et par Aulu-Gelle dans les *Nuits attiques*, mais aussi par la statuaire ou l'épigraphie qui commémorent son évergétisme. On y découvre un homme représentatif de l'élite grecque du deuxième siècle, soucieux de mettre en valeur le caractère exceptionnel de sa personnalité et de son action. Quelle image avons-nous de la maternité et des matrones romaines ?, se demande Mercedes Oria Segura dans l'étude suivante, en s'appuyant sur les sources iconographiques (« Matronas y madres: la creación de una imagen social », p. 159-185). Il s'agit le plus souvent de représentations stéréotypées qui, sous une apparence de réalisme, sont liées à des codes sociaux et à des modèles artistiques préétablis, même lorsque l'on constate une plus grande liberté d'expression dans l'iconographie privée. Juan Manuel Abascal Palazón (« A propósito de la autorrepresentación epigráfica de las élites urbanas del Occidente romano », p. 175-185) évoque de manière dispersée les pratiques d'autoreprésentation des élites urbaines, qu'elles soient collectives ou individuelles, telles qu'elles se dégagent des inscriptions honorifiques, ou encore des textes funéraires ou votifs, inspirés des modèles établis par Auguste. Dans une contribution richement illustrée et mieux centrée que la précédente, Antonio F. Caballos Rufino (« Mutación de los referentes provinciales romanos entre Ulterior y Baetica. Del *Bellum Hispaniense* a la expresión honorífica de las nuevas elites cívicas en la provincia », p. 187-212) montre comment la « Révolution romaine » étudiée par Ronald Syme a atteint une province comme la Bétique et se reflète dans la propagande épigraphique des élites désireuses de laisser d'elles-mêmes une image conforme à l'idéologie impériale. Les deux dernières contributions nous transportent dans l'Antiquité tardive. Francisco Marco Simón (« Vetio Agorio Pretextato y el fervor universalista de la religión tradicional », p. 213-226) étudie, en le contextualisant, le texte gravé sur la base du marbre dédié à Vetius Agorius Pretextatus, mise au jour en 1750 et conservée dans les musées du Capitole. On peut y lire l'épithète du *consul designatus* de la fin de l'année 384 et de son épouse Aconia Fabia Paulina ; la dimension religieuse et mystique de ce texte prend toute sa valeur à une époque où l'on change de paradigme religieux. Rosa Sanz Serrano (« El autorretrato de *Flavius Honorius Augustus* en las fuentes literarias », p. 227-243) confronte les sources littéraires occidentales et

orientales consacrées à Flavius Honorius, plus ou moins favorables à l'empereur selon le contrôle exercé par les cours impériales sur l'image contemporaine ou postérieure de ce personnage. L'ouvrage s'achève utilement sur un index des sources classiques, des inscriptions, des noms de personnes et de lieux, et des thèmes, offrant ainsi un bon récapitulatif des contributions.

Jacques-Emmanuel BERNARD.

Bernard MINEO / Giuseppe ZECCHINI, *Justin. Abrégé des Histoires Philippiques de Trogue Pompée. Tome I. Livres I-X / Tome II. Livres XI-XXIII*. Texte établi, traduit et commenté par B. M. Notes historiques de G. Z., Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 2016 / 2018 (CUF), 19,5 × 12,5 cm, cv-250 p. / xi-279 p. en partie doubles, 39 € / 59 €, ISBN 978-2-251-01473-9 / 978-2-251-01479-1.

L'edizione Belles Lettres di Giustino, di cui si presentano qui i primi due volumi, mentre il terzo è in preparazione, si inserisce nella fioritura di studi giustinei che ha caratterizzato gli ultimi vent'anni a partire dal volume di J. C. Yardley / W. Heckel, *Justin: Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus. Books 11-12: Alexander the Great* (Oxford, 1997), e che ha prodotto ultimamente tre volumi di saggi, usciti nella collana "Contributi di storia antica" dell'Università Cattolica di Milano (*Studi sull'Epitome di Giustino. I. Dagli Assiri a Filippo II di Macedonia*, 2014; *II. Da Alessandro Magno a Filippo V di Macedonia*, 2015; *III. Il tardo ellenismo. I Parti e i Romani*, 2016), la monografia di A. Borgna (*Ripensare la storia universale. Giustino e l'Epitome delle Storie Filippiche di Pompeo Trogo*, Hildesheim, 2018) e la riedizione aggiornata della traduzione di L. Santi Amantini del 1981 (Giustino, *Storie Filippiche. Epitome da Pompeo Trogo*, Roma, 2017, con l'aggiunta del testo a fronte). Il primo volume si apre con l'ampia introduzione di Bernard Mineo, che ha curato anche il testo critico (p. I-LXXVIII). Prima di tutto viene messa a fuoco la figura di Pompeo Trogo, attraverso una serie di temi trattati con chiarezza e precisione: la biografia, le testimonianze di carattere valutativo che lo riguardano, la data di composizione delle sue *Storie Filippiche*, le caratteristiche dell'opera (titolo, originalità, tendenza). In secondo luogo, viene considerato Giustino: gli scarsi dati biografici, la data di composizione dell'*Epitome*, le sue finalità, lo stile. Vengono poi esaminati gli altri testimoni delle *Filippiche* trogiane: i *prologi* e le citazioni (tre frammenti e sette citazioni non letterali; particolare attenzione è riservata al rapporto tra Giustino e Orosio). Infine, viene affrontato il tema delle fonti di Trogo e dell'organizzazione del materiale (basata, come è noto, sulla successione degli imperi: dopo i primi sei libri, sorta di *prolegomena*, la storia greca si inserisce tra impero persiano e regno macedone; la storia di Filippo e Alessandro costituisce il punto di snodo; segue la storia delle monarchie ellenistiche fino alla battaglia di Azio e alla caduta dell'Egitto nel libro XL; gli ultimi quattro libri parlano di Roma in Spagna (fino al 19 a.C.) e in Oriente contro i Parti (fino al 20 a.C.). Segue il quadro della tradizione manoscritta, che comprende più di duecento manoscritti. L'introduzione fa il punto su una serie di problemi vivacemente discussi dalla critica. Pompeo Trogo è tratteggiato come un membro dell'élite voconzia della Gallia Narbonense; il problema dell'identificazione del *C. Caesar* sotto cui servì il padre è risolto, con buoni argomenti, a favore di Giulio Cesare (il padre di Pompeo Trogo sarebbe il Pompeo che funge da interprete a Titurio Sabino in *BG* V, 36). Contemporaneo di Livio, Trogo redasse la sua opera in età augustea; i giudizi espressi su di lui, dal *uir priscae eloquentiae* di Giustino (*Praef.* 1) all'*auctor e seuerissimis* di Plinio (*NH* XI, 274), sembrano sottolineare rigore metodologico e austera prospettiva morale, il che giustifica l'accostamento, da parte della *Historia Augusta* (*Aur.* 2, 1; *Prob.* 2, 7), ai nomi più autorevoli della grande storiografia in lingua latina, Livio, Sallustio e Tacito. A proposito delle caratteristiche dell'opera di Trogo,

Mineo ne coglie l'originalità, oltre che nella redazione in latino, nella concentrazione sulla storia ellenistica, che fa delle *Storie Filippiche* un parallelo della storia di Roma di Livio, e dedica un'ampia discussione al problema del titolo. Questo allude al contenuto "macedone", mette in evidenza il rapporto storiografico con Teopompo e soprattutto costituisce un riferimento alle *Filippiche* ciceroniane (che doveva essere il più immediato per il pubblico romano), il che implica una connotazione antitirannica; ne risulta confermata, secondo Mineo, la prospettiva di F. Landucci, che considera "Filippiche" quasi un sinonimo di "ellenistiche" (*Filippo II e le Storie Filippiche: un protagonista storico e storiografico*, in *Studi sull'Epitome di Giustino. I*, p. 233-260). Particolarmente interessante è il parallelismo con Livio, sostenuto con convinzione e validi argomenti: alla base di entrambe le opere, imperniata rispettivamente sulla Grecia ellenistica e su Roma, stanno una sorta di "geografia morale" che contrappone l'Italia all'Oriente corruttore e l'adozione di un sistema assiologico antimonarchico e antitirannico. Molto convincente è anche il tentativo di ridurre la presunta portata antiromana dell'opera di Trogo, legato anche al ridimensionamento di Timagene come fonte dell'opera trogiana. Roma in realtà non è un obiettivo polemico di Trogo; la sua scarsa presenza nel piano dell'opera è dovuta al fatto che si tratta, per Trogo, di un argomento "fuori tema"; la presenza nell'opera della questione della crisi morale di Roma, presente anche in molti autori romani, non può essere considerata indice di ostilità; la stessa idea di *fortuna*, che sembrerebbe collegare le sorti di Roma con i capricci della *tyche*, è in realtà da considerare come un elemento affine al *fatum*, al destino, e non ha quindi carattere antiromano. Più difficile è caratterizzare Giustino, forse di origine africana (ma le ipotesi formulate sulla provenienza di Giustino sono tutte basate sull'interesse manifestato dall'autore per queste aree) e di difficile datazione: Mineo, a proposito delle diverse ipotesi formulate in merito, dà un certo rilievo solo a quelle di Heckel (in *Justin: Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus. Books 11-12*, p. 18-19), secondo cui Giustino è un retore che scrive all'inizio del III secolo sul modello dell'epitome liviana di Floro, e a quella di G. Zecchini (*Per la datazione di Giustino*, in *Studi sull'Epitome di Giustino. III*, p. 221-231), che pensa ad un autore che scrive a cavallo tra IV e V secolo, dopo la battaglia di Adrianopoli, fortemente influenzato dal problema gotico (i Goti sarebbero riconoscibili dietro gli Sciti, per i quali Giustino manifesta un notevole interesse). Le caratteristiche dell'opera emergono invece con relativa chiarezza, grazie anche alle dichiarazioni dello stesso autore, che dice di aver composto un *florilegium* dei 44 libri di Trogo; dunque non un vero e proprio riassunto, ma una selezione di episodi che potessero incontrare i gusti del pubblico e consentirgli di disporre di un'agile sintesi di storia greca. I criteri di selezione si possono dedurre dal confronto con i *prologi*, di tradizione indipendente: lo spazio più ampio è dato ai sovrani ellenistici e alle loro feroci lotte per il potere, che dovevano attrarre un pubblico interessato a una storia a metà tra romanzo e tragedia (e la cui curiosità per i temi esotici spiega lo spazio dato alla storia orientale e soprattutto persiana). Per quanto riguarda le fonti, Trogo non dipenderebbe interamente da Timagene, come riteneva Gutschmid, ma si rivolgerebbe a più fonti: non solo i tre grandi storici conservati, Erodoto, Tucidide e Senofonte, ma anche Eforo e Teopompo, nonché storici di settore, come per esempio Dinone, fonte principale per la storia scitica. Il tentativo di dare un nome alle fonti non aggiunge molto alle ipotesi fin qui formulate in merito; forse maggiore utilità avrebbe avuto un tentativo di caratterizzare eventuali elementi di tendenza (per quanto la complessa stratificazione presente dietro il testo giustineo renda la valutazione difficile; un tentativo in questo senso è stato fatto nei tre *Studi sull'Epitome di Giustino* citati in apertura). La bibliografia (p. LXXXV-CV) raccoglie non solo materiale specificamente dedicato a Giustino, ma anche lavori di supporto al commento storico; forse una divisione tra i due settori

sarebbe stata opportuna. Segnalo che Luigi Santi Amantini è sempre indicato nel testo come Amantini o come L. S. Amantini, anche se in bibliografia generale l'indicazione del doppio cognome è corretta. Passiamo ora alle *Notes historiques* di Giuseppe Zecchini, che nel I volume occupano le p. 151-241, nel secondo le p. 147-245. Il commento, come richiesto dalle caratteristiche del volume, è molto sintetico e mette in evidenza gli elementi che giustificano la prospettiva interpretativa del commentatore, dall'ipotesi cronologica tarda alla ricerca, all'interno del testo, di un punto di vista "romano". Qualche esempio: Solone propone un *temperamentum inter plebem senatumque*, e sul piano storico l'affermazione è giustificata, ma vi si può vedere forse anche un riflesso della *medietas* politica di Trogo (I, p. 172); l'attenzione al tema della successione di Dario III può riflettere l'interesse romano per problemi di successione dinastica (I, p. 175-176); la guerra fra Atene e Sparta per l'egemonia è presentata come una *stasis* civile, prospettiva che sembra evocare le guerre civili romane (I, p. 185-186). L'indicazione di fonti parallele e di riferimenti bibliografici è molto ristretta, con qualche sproporzione. Al di là delle osservazioni puntuali, di cui non è possibile render conto, dal commento emergono alcune linee interpretative di natura complessiva: il contributo fondamentale va a mio parere riconosciuto nel tentativo di inserire Trogo nel quadro culturale del suo tempo, quello della Roma augustea. Già si è detto di questa prospettiva "romana", ma molto si potrebbe aggiungere. In particolare, il libro V, uno dei più lunghi e più vicini alla prospettiva di Trogo, appare dominato dalla figura di Alcibiade, uomo dal grande prestigio militare, estremo nei vizi come nella virtù, e paragonabile a personaggi del mondo romano come Catilina, Clodio, Pompeo e Cesare; aspetti come il racconto del suo trionfale ritorno ad Atene nel 408 o 407 sembrano ampiamente influenzati da prospettive e interessi romani (I, p. 198-199, 203). Intorno ad Alcibiade ruota anche la ricostruzione delle vicende ateniesi del 411, che offre l'opportunità di inserire il tema della riconciliazione, attualissimo nella Roma del I secolo (I, p. 207-208). Su questi temi, come su molti altri, il confronto tra le fonti è condotto soprattutto su Nepote e Diodoro, così da individuare, accostandovi Trogo, una sorta di *uulgata* di cultura latina, di origine più retorica che storiografica. Tradiscono il rapporto con gli interessi romani anche i temi della *tryphé* e del *metus hostilis* (I, p. 217). I due libri dedicati ad Alessandro (XI-XII) appaiono ricchi di temi "romani": il rapporto con il padre e la progressiva degenerazione del potere, *tryphé* e *luxuria* (II, p. 161), la discendenza divina (II, p. 161-163), il rapporto con le truppe (II, p. 149), il contrasto Oriente / Occidente (II, p. 164-165). L'Alessandro di Gaugamela ricorda il Cesare di Alesia (II, p. 185); il rapporto tra Alessandro e Dario III, al momento della morte di quest'ultimo, evoca quello tra Cesare e Pompeo (II, p. 168), mentre la vendetta di Alessandro su Besso, assassino di Dario III, evoca la *ultio* di Ottaviano (II, p. 167). Ancora, la morte di Alessandro è occasione per rievocare il principio della scelta del migliore (II, p. 185) e la fine di Cesare (II, p. 186: *uictus denique ... insidiis suorum et fraude ciuili*). Nel complesso, la ricostruzione rivela una notevole consonanza con Curzio Rufo e ci presenta una tradizione occidentale, sfavorevole ad Alessandro, che rielabora Clitarco e deve molto, ancora una volta, alle scuole di retorica. Un altro tema, accanto alla prospettiva "romana", è appunto il ruolo dell'oratoria nel conservare alcune tradizioni che giungono alle *Storie Filippiche* attraverso le scuole di retorica: tra queste tradizioni possiamo ricordare, per esempio, la prospettiva atenocentrica e antidorica del libro II, il tema dell'autoctonia degli Ateniesi (forse contrapposta alla commistione romana e risalente forse a Isocrate; ma si osservi che questo tema era estremamente diffuso nella tradizione ateniese, da Tucidide a Lisia a Platone), l'enfaticizzazione del ruolo di Atene nelle guerre persiane, l'interesse per l'aneddotica e per le grandi personalità. A questo proposito mi sembra, però, che vada rilevato in Giustino un certo disinteresse per il tema dell'egemonia ateniese (chiuso il

libro II, il libro III è interamente “spartano”). Come ho cercato di mettere in evidenza nel mio saggio *La “pentecontetia” in Trogo e nell’epitome di Giustino*, in *Studi sull’Epitome di Giustino*. I, p. 85-124, Trogo e Giustino offrono una periodizzazione originale di questo periodo convulso, impostata sul passaggio dell’egemonia dalla Persia a Sparta e costruita attraverso l’individuazione di snodi inediti, come la morte di Serse e la “pace di Callia”. Snodi familiari ai lettori di Tucidide come il 478 (il ritiro di Serse dall’Europa) e il 431 (lo scoppio della guerra del Peloponneso) scompaiono dall’organizzazione della materia; l’interesse specifico per Atene e la sua egemonia resta scarso, e ben si comprende alla luce del fatto che essa (diversamente da Sparta) non trovava spazio nello schema universalistico della *translatio imperii*. Ancora, emerge un grande interesse per la prospettiva orientale, in particolare persiana, che riveste un ruolo importante nell’economia dell’opera basata sulla *translatio imperii* e che soddisfaceva i gusti del pubblico (soprattutto con l’immagine di crudeltà e ferocia che Giustino vuole trasmettere attraverso, per esempio, il ricordo delle sanguinarie lotte dinastiche). Il cuore dell’opera resta comunque la storia macedone, che inizia con i libri VII-IX; qui l’apporto di Teopompo, già introdotto con il libro VI, sembra notevole; la visione è ostile, con notevoli attualizzazioni in chiave romana, come per esempio il confronto Filippo / Alessandro, che doveva evocare nel pubblico quello tra Cesare e Augusto (I, p. 231 e 237-239); interessanti anche i rilievi che accostano la modernizzazione della Macedonia ad opera di Filippo II alla situazione dell’Italia dopo la guerra sociale (I, p. 230-231) e la *temperantia* di Filippo II a quella di Augusto (I, p. 234). Un’altra caratteristica saliente dell’opera, opportunamente messa in luce dal commento, è l’interesse per la storia della tirannide occidentale e dei rapporti con Cartagine (la sezione si apre con il XVIII libro, su Pirro in Italia, e culmina nei libri XXI-XXII). Pirro e Agatocle, famoso per la campagna d’Africa, sono al centro della ricostruzione, una sorta di fenomenologia della tirannide” che esprime un giudizio negativo sulle forme di potere assoluto. In sostanza, il commento fa emergere alcune linee interpretative coerenti, che, più che alle fonti utilizzate, sembrano risalire agli interessi “romani” di Trogo e del suo pubblico, ulteriormente selezionati da Giustino in base al gusto letterario dei destinatari dell’*Epitome*. Il percorso che si può ricostruire rivela un’originalità che sembra giustificare le valutazioni positive espresse su Trogo dalla tradizione antica. L’edizione offre dunque, con i due volumi fin qui usciti, uno strumento prezioso per una miglior conoscenza e soprattutto per un’utilizzazione più consapevole, da parte degli storici moderni, dell’*Epitome* di Giustino, che valorizzi i filoni storiografici in essa confluiti (portatori di una tradizione alternativa originale, anche se spesso sfigurata da una sintesi maldestra) e non la riduca, come spesso è stato fatto, a fonte di informazione accessoria mai veramente presa in adeguata considerazione. Attendiamo con interesse il completamento dell’opera.

Cinzia BEARZOT.

Niccolò MUGNAI / Julia NIKOLAUS / Nick RAY (ed.), *De Africa Romaque: Merging Cultures Across North Africa*, London, The Society for Lybian Studies, 2016 (Society for Lybian Studies Conference, Volume 1), 29,7 × 21 cm, xvi-262 p., 30 £, ISBN 978-1-900971-33-1.

La formazione di una cultura “provinciale” che, pur ispirandosi a Roma, assume caratteristiche tipiche di un determinato territorio è tema da tempo oggetto di ampio dibattito fra gli studiosi di antichistica (per una sintesi, cfr. P. Le Roux, *La romanisation en question*, in *Annales (HSS)* 59, 2004, p. 287-311; H. Inglebert, *Le processus de romanisation*, in H. Inglebert (ed.), *Histoire de la civilisation romaine*, Paris, 2005, p. 421-449; G. A. Cecconi, *Romanizzazione, diversità culturale, politicamente corretto*, in *MEFRA* 118, 2006, p. 81-94; G. Traina, *Romanizzazione, “métissages”, ibridità*. Alcune

riflessioni, in *ibid.*, p. 151-158; per l'Africa da ultimo p.e. M. Sebaï, *La romanisation en Afrique, retour sur un débat. La résistance africaine : une approche libératrice ?*, in *Afrique & Histoire* 3, 2005, p. 39-56; P. Leveau, *L'Afrique romaine : résistance et identité, histoire et mémoire*, in *L'affirmation de l'identité dans l'Algérie antique et médiévale. Combats et résistances. Hommage à Kadria Fatima Kadra*, Alger, 2013, p. 37-59). In questo ricco filone di ricerca, talora venato da eccessive impostazioni ideologiche, si inseriscono pienamente i lavori del volume curato da Niccolò Mugnai, Julia Nikolaus e Nick Ray e dedicato al ruolo del mondo indigeno e punico nella formazione della cultura romana nella regione che va dal Marocco all'Egitto, pur con una particolare attenzione alla Libia. Come giustamente osservato da Bruce Hitchner (p. 259-262) già gli autori antichi sottolineavano come ben prima dell'avvento di Roma esisteva in questa vasta area una società tutt'altro che primitiva e disorganizzata: nei 17 saggi di *De Africa Romaque* si cerca dunque di sovvertire un'impostazione "colonialista" degli studi (che vede quasi come protagonisti assoluti gli immigrati italici) e, superato il mito della "resistenza", si sottolinea il contributo decisivo e continuativo delle culture locali e del sostrato punico in settori che, come architettura, urbanistica, economia, agricoltura, hanno contribuito alla costruzione di una civiltà originale e vitale, aperta agli influssi esterni ma capace di rielaborarli in base alle esigenze e alle risorse del territorio. Suddivisi in cinque sezioni tematiche (1. *North Africa before Rome: Indigenous Traditions and their Legacy*, p. 11-53; 2. *Planning, Developing and Transforming the North African Townscape*, p. 57-99; 3. *Perception and Representation of Power, Ethnic and Cultural Identities*, p. 103-141; 4. *Economies across North Africa: Production, Technology, and Trades*, p. 145-181; 5. *Creating a Lasting Impression: Architectural and Decorative Motifs*, p. 185-256), i saggi si concentrano su Alto e Basso Impero ma non disdegnano uno sguardo alle ultime fasi dell'età del Bronzo e al periodo repubblicano. Scritti da maestri della disciplina e da giovani promettenti studiosi, i lavori sono dotati di una buona bibliografia, anche se talora sintetica ed eccessivamente rivolta al mondo anglosassone (una tendenza mutuata dalla cosiddette "scienze dure" e che si va ormai diffondendo negli studi di antichistica, anche se in maniera spesso ingiustificata), e hanno il pregio di fare il punto su specifiche ed eterogenee problematiche che, pur non essendo esaustive, contribuiscono a definire le peculiarità dell'Africa romana. Entrando più nel dettaglio, non possiamo non segnalare la preziosa sintesi di David Mattingly (p. 11-25), che partendo da alcuni esempi, dimostra che agricoltura e piccoli *oppida* furono introdotti in Africa ben prima dell'arrivo dei Fenici sulle coste di Tunisia e Libia ed al contrario sono lo specchio di una società agropastorale complessa e piramidale, equiparabile a quella di Hallstatt e La Tène nell'Europa centrale, capillarmente diffusa, capace di sviluppare sofisticate tecniche di irrigazione come le *foggaras* o di realizzare gli imponenti tumuli funerari (studiati in questa sede nell'innovativo saggio da David Stone, p. 39-53), testimoni questi ultimi di una *nobilitas* locale che anche attraverso questi *sēmata* evidenziava e in un certo qual modo certificava il suo primato economico e politico. Il medesimo atteggiamento si riscontra sia nelle tombe della greca Cirene e nelle sue "stones of memory", indagate da Meseret Oldjira e Susan Walker anche in relazione all'evolversi dei concetti di ricchezza e potere (p. 185-197), sia più tardi in Tripolitania, in particolare nella regione di Ghirza, con le differenti tipologie di mausoleo ispirate da modelli mutuati dal mondo punico-ellenistico e poi romano, adorne di scene che privilegiano la rappresentazione della vita dei campi con un esplicito richiamo alla principale fonte di ricchezza di una famiglia o di un clan (Julia Nikolaus, p. 199-214). Già da questi accenni appare evidente come l'Africa mediterranea sia sempre stata recettiva ai variegati influssi esterni, rielaborati in relazione non solo alle ideologie ma soprattutto a costi, maestranze e materie prime: segnali di questo genere sono già individuabili

durante l'età del Bronzo dall'Egitto verso la Libia attraverso le oasi del deserto, forse per il tramite dei Garamanti (Robert Morkott, p. 27-38), nello sviluppo urbanistico di *Dionysias* nel Fayyum fra età tolemaica e romana (Gabriella Carpentiero, p. 73-83), nella diffusione e sviluppo dell'oleicoltura che sempre a *Dionysias* Leonardo Bigi (p. 145-156) correla all'introduzione di un sistema fiscale progressivamente capillare, nella produzione di anfore nel piccolo municipio di *Zitha*, simili a quelle di Djerba e del *Byzacium* ma significativamente concorrenti di quelle di *Lepcis Magna* (Elyssa Jerry, p. 157-170), nella diffusione dell'*opus quadratum* e dell'*opus africanum* in Proconsolare già con Cartagine e i re di Numidia (Stefano Camporeale, p. 57-71), nell'eterogenea decorazione architettonica di *Sala* in *Tingitana*, dove le influenze locali condizionano gli esiti dell'arte ufficiale dell'impero (Niccolò Mugnai, p. 215-229), infine nel saggio di Patrizio Pensabene che con il consueto acume descrive continuità e riprese delle tradizioni ellenistiche e puniche nell'architettura e nelle decorazione architettonica fra l'età repubblicana e il IV secolo (p. 231-248), un saggio che supera i confini dell'Africa e, sulla scia di Thébert e Lepelley, apre interessanti prospettive di lavoro su committenze, trasformazioni economiche e della classe dirigente locale, rapporti fra centro e periferia, fra coste e aree interne. Passando al Basso Impero, Anna Leone (p. 249-256) si interroga sul persistere del culto imperiale durante il IV secolo e sulle statue degli imperatori, ormai non più venerate ma prova tangibile della lealtà al *dominus* o tassello insostituibile del decoro urbano e per questo motivo preservate negli spazi pubblici. Su questi si sofferma Eleonora Gasparini (p. 85-99) che, riprendendo una tematica già in passato affrontata da Thébert e dalla stessa Leone, invita a sostituire il concetto di "decadenza" con quello di "spostamento" verso nuovi poli di attrazione, con l'occupazione ad uso privato di spazi dismessi ma ancora prestigiosi da parte delle famiglie più importanti dell'*élite* locale. Gareth Sears (p. 131-141) punta invece la sua attenzione su di *Tipasa* di *Mauretania*, rilevando che la sua popolazione non era composta quasi esclusivamente da cattolici ma aveva variegati orientamenti religiosi che ne condizionavano il rapporto con il governo centrale (sul tema rimangono illuminanti i lavori di C. Lepelley, *Le lieu des valeurs communes. La cité, terrain neutre entre païens et chrétiens dans l'Afrique romaine tardive*, in H. Inglebert (ed.), *Idéologie et valeurs civiques dans le Monde Romain. Hommage à Claude Lepelley*, Paris, 2002, p. 271-285; S. Conti, *Scambi culturali e persistenze: il paganesimo nell'Africa Proconsolare cristiana*, in A. Akerraz et al. (ed.), *L'Africa romana* 16, Roma, 2006, p. 883-898). La molla economica influenzò esplicitamente o implicitamente le scelte culturali e fu sempre un elemento caratterizzante dell'Africa. Le sue ricchezze (e i suoi misteri) colpivano l'immaginario dei Romani tanto da essere celebrati sui *fercula* che Cornelio Balbo espose nella processione trionfale fra le vie dell'Urbe (Andy Merrills, p. 121-129), e furono sicuramente queste a convincere Roma a passare da un controllo indiretto del territorio con lo "stato cliente" di Cartagine, alla costituzione dell'*Africa Vetus* e a predisporvi strategie atte ad attirare nella provincia coloni, *negotiatores*, investitori di rango equestre o senatorio che sin dagli esordi si affiancarono ai ceti imprenditoriali locali nello sfruttamento delle ricche risorse (Matthew Hobson, p. 103-119; a identiche conclusioni erano peraltro già arrivati fra gli altri Lassère, Kolendo, Peyras). Scelte economiche e politiche sono causa delle considerevoli importazioni di laterizi, elementi architettonici, pregiati materiali da costruzione utilizzate per la realizzazione di edifici pubblici e privati soprattutto nelle città della costa (Ben Russell, p. 171-181). In generale, dunque, *De Africa Romaque* si presenta come il tentativo riuscito per una riflessione corale sull'incontro fra mondi diversi e sulla nascita di una o più culture provinciali ispirate a Roma e che interpretano Roma in maniera originale. Un volume, come detto, non definitivo né esaustivo, per specialisti del mondo antico che hanno ben presente la complessità di queste tematiche ma tuttavia aggiornato e ricco di

spunti e che sicuramente offrirà nei prossimi anni spunti per ulteriori osservazioni e per auspicabili lavori di sintesi. *Ad maiora.* Antonio IBBA.

Marco ONORATO, *Il castone e la gemma. Sulla tecnica poetica di Sidonio Apollinare*, Napoli, Paolo Loffredo, 2016, (Studi latini n. s., 89), 21 × 14,5 cm., 530 p., 36,80 €, ISBN 978-88-99306-43-4.

Souvent par besoin d'un sujet de thèse, quelquefois par lassitude à l'endroit d'une poésie classique qu'ils découvrent encombrée de travaux parfois répétitifs jusqu'au ressassement, les jeunes chercheurs se tournent vers la poésie tardive. Ils la trouvent de structure plus visible, de métricité moins souple, donc plus facile à appréhender et, pour ceux qui goûtent l'air du temps, d'une intertextualité plus clairement documentable. Ces facilités compensent une complexité d'expression qui, une fois surmontée, laisse volontiers transparaître une machinerie dont on peut apercevoir les mécanismes, démonter les rouages et désarticuler la structure jusqu'à laisser paraître cette poésie pour ce qu'elle est, un exercice phatique qui, passé le vacarme de sa ferblanterie stylistique, n'a de réalité que comme signe de reconnaissance. Et de fait, cette poésie du *doctus poeta* tardif doit s'apercevoir comme l'aboutissement extrême de cette tendance élitiste qui a toujours voulu le latin littéraire comme sélecteur social. Dans ce monde de la Gaule tardo-antique où un latin vulgaire de plus en plus mâtiné de germanique gagnait les hautes couches de la société, il importait encore plus de rappeler que la seule vraie marque de romanité était la langue et que celui qui la maîtrisait au moins passivement, mais de préférence activement et dans toute sa complexité, *faisait partie du club*. Or la preuve de cette appartenance ne pouvait se faire que selon le mode avéré et ancien d'une *imitatio et aemulatio* qui n'était plus vraiment déclinée sur le mode de l'intertextualité classique, mais sur celui d'un réemploi esthétique analogue à celui qui faisait placer des images païennes sur un sarcophage chrétien. Désormais, on empruntait non par appropriation mais par décatégorisation. Il s'agissait dès lors d'un changement de sens et de la restructuration d'une matière classique remodelée en une forme nouvelle et d'apparence désorganisée qui évoquait irrésistiblement les arts figurés, la mosaïque dont les tesselles étaient les mots constitutifs d'une langue portée aux confins de l'obscurité. À ce jeu, Sidoine est un indépassé virtuose, à un point tel d'ailleurs que sa lecture donne à qui la pratique une impression de saturation cognitive et, accessoirement, le troublant sentiment de ne plus savoir le latin. Le livre de Marco Onorato s'organise selon ces deux thématiques, celle de la structure et celle du lexique, celle du grand qui organise le petit et du petit qui construit le grand. La première partie (p. 13-269 : *La tecnica diaretica*) illustre une pratique de la dichotomie créatrice d'une poétique de l'opposition et de l'emboîtement. La méthode mise en œuvre est celle d'un découpage de morceaux choisis segmentés en sous-ensembles successivement eux-mêmes segmentés selon une visée qui est celle de la correspondance. On se trouve ainsi typiquement en face d'un segment A divisé tout d'abord en sous-segments A1, A2, A3, ... eux-mêmes divisés en sous-sous-segments A1a, A1β, A1γ, ... Le résultat proposé n'est pas sans évoquer ces travaux des chercheurs des années soixante qui voyaient l'avenir dans l'application de la rude méthode de l'analyse structurale aux textes littéraires. Les objections que l'on faisait à leur tentative étaient à peu près celles qui me viennent, cinquante ans plus tard. J'en vois au moins deux. La première est suscitée par la difficulté que l'on rencontre à conceptualiser correctement un jeu qui apparie des A1a et des C3γ, et cela d'autant plus que l'on perd rapidement l'envie de se rappeler leur contenu en constatant qu'un jeu de paraphrases orientées les dirige vers le système de sens qui sera le plus favorable à la démonstration. La seconde naît du soupçon de projectivité qui ne peut manquer de se

faire jour dans un esprit un peu salubre. Il est en effet difficile de ne pas en venir à croire que l'organisation des complexités ainsi dégagée relève moins de l'esthétique de Sidoine que de celle de Marco Onorato. Enfin, l'obligation où l'on se trouve d'ingurgiter un nombre non négligeable de textes assurément trop longs pour être traduits suscite exaspération et soupçon ; étant donné l'obscurité de la langue de Sidoine, il aurait été plus qu'utile de savoir ce que Marco Onorato comprend exactement de ces extraits dont il propose l'analyse. Ces réserves, pour importantes qu'elles soient, n'enlèvent rien à une esthétique de la complexité par enchâssement que l'on doit malgré tout constater, mais qui demande à être évaluée de manière moins touffue, plus globale et surtout plus synthétique – cette première partie aurait été vraiment plus jolie avec une conclusion ! La seconde partie (p. 271-439 : *Alchemie lessicali*) est consacrée aux 41 hapax qui s'observent dans le texte. Une fois rejeté le soupçon qu'ils pourraient n'en pas être, tant est lacunaire le corpus conservé de la poésie antique, on ne s'étonnera pas d'en trouver 34 sous forme d'adjectifs chez un auteur aussi porté au décoratif que l'est Sidoine. Une fois envisagé ce qui touche à la statistique et aux modes de création lexicale, les hapax sont étudiés comme des lieux intertextuels. Depuis plusieurs années, l'intertextualité fait l'objet des recherches les plus ardentes en matière poétique ; il était donc légitime qu'elle attire exclusivement l'attention d'un chercheur que l'on sent attentif à la direction du vent. À la lecture des hapax (p. 276-277) détectés dans le texte, on ne peut que penser à ceux qui s'observent dans l'*Histoire Auguste*, où ils ne sont que jeux lexicaux de pur amusement. Il n'est ainsi peut-être pas nécessairement besoin de voir dans ceux dont s'amuse Sidoine ces hypotextes que les ordinateurs nous fournissent si facilement. En matière d'intertextualité, il en va beaucoup de foi et d'adhésion à un air du temps qui recherche le tissage de liens entre les *rari nantes* qui ont survécu au naufrage de l'Antiquité.

Carole FRY.

Laurent PERNOT / Giancarlo ABBAMONTE / Mario LAMAGNA (ed.), *Ælius Aristide écrivain*. Avec l'assistance de Maria Consiglia ALVINO, Turnhout, Brepols, 2016 (Recherches sur les rhétoriques religieuses, 19), 23,5 × 15,5 cm, 584 p., 90 €, ISBN 978-2-503-56783-9.

Si la quasi-totalité des propos réunis dans cet important volume ne concernent pas nos études, la contribution de Susan C. Jarratt, « An Imperial Anti-Sublime: Aristides' *Roman Oration* (or. 26) » (p. 213-229), mérite une recension attentive. Selon les éditeurs (p. 9), cet article « donne », du discours *En l'honneur de Rome*, « une lecture anti-célébrative, fondée sur de fines analyses des images et des citations, qui met en lumière des réserves à l'égard de la *pax Romana* présentes, mais habilement dissimulées, à l'intérieur du texte ». Pour l'auteure elle-même (p. 213, 229), « Aristides ultimately produces something like a negative or anti-sublime: a cynical or hollowed out shell of what an empire could or should be. The result is the figured implication of the failure of *pax Romana* to rise to its own vision of grandeur [...] the political failure of a city that calls itself an empire ». L'argumentaire de Jarratt relève, au premier regard, des stratégies de lecture préconisées par Leo Strauss pour une meilleure intelligence des textes anciens (voir mon article *Le mauvais exemple et « l'art d'écrire entre les lignes »*, in E. Danblon et al. (ed.), *Argumentation et narration*, Bruxelles, 2008, p. 115-128) : quand un écrivain consommé semble commettre des erreurs ou des bévues tellement manifestes et grossières qu'elles ne sauraient échapper à personne, il faut faire l'hypothèse qu'il pratique un « art d'écrire entre les lignes » qui dissimule, sous une littéralité triviale ou chaotique, des sous-entendus destinés au lecteur perspicace. Mais à l'encontre de ce qu'exige la méthode straussienne, dont elle ne se réclame d'ailleurs pas, Jarratt ne réussit pas à

montrer qu'Aristide ait, en un endroit quelconque, abattu ses cartes sans plus recourir à la feinte. Aux p. 215-216, l'auteure signale qu'à en croire Barbara Levick (*The Government of the Roman Empire*, London / Sydney, 1985, p. 201), Aristide aurait évoqué une résistance à l'ordre romain dans le paragraphe 65, où l'où rencontrerait cette formulation particulièrement troublante : « Further, all the common masses in the Empire need have no fear of the powerful man among them: they can have recourse to you; but if they venture to cause a disturbance swift is the anger and vengeance visited on them by you ». Contrairement à ce que laissent supposer Levick (p. 237) et Jarratt à sa suite (p. 213 n. 1), la version anglaise qui vient d'être reproduite n'est pas due à J. H. Oliver. Mais Levick s'est, de toute évidence, inspirée de la traduction d'Oliver (in *TAPhS* 43/4, 1953, p. 902 : « Besides, all the masses have as a share in it the permission to take refuge with you from the power of the local magnates, but there is the indignation and punishment from you which will come upon them immediately, if they themselves dare make any unlawful change ») et du commentaire que celui-ci consacre à l'extrait en cause (p. 929-930) avec un renvoi à Tac., *Ann.* 13.48.1 (et non « 12.48 » comme l'imprime Oliver) : *isdem consulibus audita Puteolanorum legationes, quas diuersas ordo plebs ad senatum miserant, illi uim multitudinis, hi magistratum et primi cuiusque auaritiam increpantes*. Or le texte grec dont part Oliver (p. 987) n'est pas défendable : ἔτι δὲ καὶ μέτεστιν <ἐν> αὐτῇ πᾶσιν ἄδεια τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἐκ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς δυνατῶν <ἐπὶ τῷ εἰς ὑμᾶς καταφεύγειν, ἀλλ' ἔστιν> ἡ παρ' ὑμῶν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς, ἐάν τι τολμῶσι παρακινεῖν, εὐθὺς ἡξουσά ὀργή τε καὶ τιμωρία. En effet, la préposition ἐν a été introduite par W. Canter (voir l'édition de W. Dindorf, Leipzig, 1829, I, p. 348), et le long ajout qui suit par Oliver lui-même, qui a tout bonnement reconstruit ce qu'il désirait trouver. On éditera plutôt, à la suite de J. J. Reiske : ἔτι δὲ καὶ μέτεστιν <ῆ> αὐτῇ πᾶσιν ἄδεια τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἐκ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς δυνατῶν, ἡ παρ' ὑμῶν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς, ἐάν τι τολμῶσι παρακινεῖν, εὐθὺς ἡξουσα ὀργή τε καὶ τιμωρία – un texte parfait, et paléographiquement économique (ajout de ῆ et correction de αὐτῇ en αὐτῇ), dont C. A. Behr (*The Complete Works*, vol. II, Leiden 1981, p. 86-87) et L. Pernot (*Éloges grecs de Rome*, Paris, 1997, p. 92) ont fourni des traductions limpides : « In addition under this government all the masses have a sense of security against the powerful among them, provided by your wrath and vengeance which will immediately fall upon the powerful if they dare some lawless change » ; « En outre, les masses jouissent toutes de la même protection vis-à-vis des puissants du lieu : votre colère et votre châtement, qui fondront immédiatement sur eux s'ils osent introduire quelque mauvais changement ». On avouera que la différence est de taille, et que le premier élément de preuve invoqué par Jarratt ne résiste guère à la critique. Il en va de même pour l'exploitation que l'auteure veut faire de l'intertexte homérique. Au paragraphe 6, Aristide écrit (traduction Pernot, p. 60) : « ce qu'Homère a dit de la neige, [...] cela est vrai aussi de cette cité » ; Jarratt soutient que cette allusion à *Il.* 12.278-286 vise à dénier toute qualité visible à Rome, représentée comme « [a] dream-like, labyrinthine city-state where everyplace is the same place and the same time » (p. 224). Au paragraphe 68, on lit (traduction Pernot, p. 93) : « Comme les chauves-souris, dans les grottes, se tiennent accrochées aux pierres, ainsi tous sont suspendus à vous, veillant, avec crainte, à ce que nul ne tombe de la file » ; du fait que, chez Homère (*Od.* 24.1-14), la comparaison s'applique aux âmes des prétendants qu'Hermès conduit vers les Enfers, Jarratt conclut : « A more debased figure for colonial subjects and cities is difficult to imagine » (p. 226). Pour le premier de ces passages, on ne saurait oublier que la neige homérique est répandue par Zeus et que le mythe de Danaé comme le récit de l'assaut frustré de Delphes par les Gaulois font jouer à cette intempérie un rôle pertinent en termes à la fois référentiels et symboliques (voir mon article in *Latomus* 67, 2008, p. 102-113) ; l'association de Rome avec Jupiter (*Od.* 4.74 est cité au paragraphe 89), et l'amalgame qui s'est constamment établi entre

l'épisode delphique et le siège du Capitole par d'autres Gaulois, ne pouvaient qu'être accessibles à l'auditoire visé par Aristide. Jarratt a certainement raison de souligner l'absence de toute dimension proprement visuelle dans le discours, ainsi que l'indifférenciation qui y caractérise les sujets, les lieux et les temps de l'Empire ; sur le deuxième point, on mentionnera encore les paragraphes 83-84, où les boucliers, tous semblables, des soldats romains s'alignent dans la tactique de la « tortue » pour former un mur ou un toit protecteur comme le faisaient, en *Il.* 16.200-127, les casques et les écus des Myrmidons – ces hommes qui avaient d'abord été des fourmis (voir A. Michalopoulos, *Ancient Etymologies in Ovid's Metamorphoses*, Leeds, 2001, p. 125-126). Mais là où l'auteur croit découvrir le signe d'une réticence, voire d'une résistance, j'inclinerais à déceler, plutôt, les conséquences du choix rhétorique fait par l'orateur. À l'instar de la poésie selon Aristote, l'épidictique cherche, en principe, à doter le singulier et l'accidentel d'une dimension universelle et nécessaire (voir M. Dominicy / M. Frédéric (ed.), *La mise en scène des valeurs*, Lausanne / Paris, 2001). Aristide, quant à lui, présuppose dès le départ l'universalité et la nécessité de l'ordre romain ; il ne peut donc plus se fonder, comme on s'y attendrait, sur ce qui compose la singularité, et le caractère accidentel de Rome, pour transcender progressivement ces deux aspects au fil de son discours. Jarratt (p. 219-220) note, après Pernot (*Éloges*, p. 49-50 ; *Ælius Aristides and Rome*, in W. V. Harris / B. Holmes (ed.), *Ælius Aristides between Greece, Rome, and the Gods*, Leiden / Boston, 2008, p. 175-201, part. 188-190), qu'Aristide ne souffle mot de l'histoire ou de la culture romaines, qu'il ne parle ni de l'architecture, ni de la littérature, ni de la langue de la cité. En réalité l'architecture est bien là, attestée d'abord par ces *insulae* dont tous les étages sont les mêmes (paragraphe 8), puis par les innombrables villes de l'Empire et leurs ornements – gymnases, fontaines, propylées, temples, ateliers et autres écoles (paragraphes 93-99) – et par les routes qui sillonnent l'ensemble du territoire (paragraphe 101). Si Rome est partout, tout est aussi dans Rome. En accord avec un *topos* maintes fois répété, Aristide écrit (traduction Pernot, p. 60) : « en quelque endroit qu'on soit de la cité, on est toujours – rien ne l'empêche – au centre de celle-ci » (paragraphe 7) ; plus explicitement encore, il ajoute (traduction Pernot, p. 90) : « elle garde tout caché et reste égale à elle-même, en réalité et en apparence, malgré les départs et les arrivées » (paragraphe 62). Aristide s'est placé, somme toute, devant un défi comparable à celui que devrait déjouer, aujourd'hui, l'orateur qui entreprendrait de rédiger un « éloge de Bruxelles » pour célébrer les bienfaits de l'Union Européenne. Ce rhéteur ne saurait, évidemment, traiter de l'identité bruxelloise ou belge, ni d'aucune des singularités historiques ou culturelles qui se côtoient en Europe. Il lui faudrait, comme Aristide, peindre une société d'êtres égaux et interchangeables qui jouissent de la paix et des progrès d'une entité « technocratique » et « abstraite » – quitte à prêter le flanc aux critiques qui déploieraient que ce tableau essentiellement « utilitaire » ne laisse aucune place pour une « vision » véritable, et que le « citoyen lambda » d'une telle « cité » ne puisse « s'incarner » dans aucune « identité concrète ». L'actualité la plus proche illustre ainsi les multiples enjeux que le discours d'Aristide, et son interprétation, continuent de revêtir pour nous.

Marc DOMINICY.

Ilaria L. E. RAMELLI, *Social Justice and the Legitimacy of Slavery: The Role of Philosophical Asceticism from Ancient Judaism to Late Antiquity*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2016 (Oxford Early Christian Studies), 24 × 16 cm, xvi-294 p., 70 £, ISBN 978-0-19-877727-4.

In this book, Ilaria Ramelli surveys, with impressive scope, Ancient ascetic movements, as well as the writings of influential non-ascetic Ancient philosophers, in order

to explore the history of what she labels “philosophical asceticism” or version of ascetic life (e.g. voluntary poverty) undertaken for the sake of redressing economic injustice and forms of systematic oppression such as slavery. In keeping with other recent literature that analyzes “asceticism” as a category of life choices and philosophical positions with shared characteristics and objectives, Ramelli handles the ascetic tradition in Western antiquity as an unbroken whole, treating as contributors to the same tradition the gospels, the writings of Ancient hellenistic philosophers, historians writing about Jewish asceticism, Church Fathers and proponents of various early Christian movements. Throughout Ramelli’s study, these diverse texts are analyzed primarily with regard to their consideration of the ethics of slavery. Importantly, women’s roles and the expectation (or not) of their submission are considered in parallel with the question of slavery, particularly in Ramelli’s analysis of Aristotle’s work in Chapter One. And other ascetic questions which may have ethical or social implications, such as sexual renunciation and vegetarianism, are also considered along the way, lending further depth and color to the picture of ascetic life than could be gained by an exclusive focus on the central questions of slavery and voluntary poverty. In complement with this textual analysis, Ramelli also pursues fascinating historical work to reveal specific details about how the proponents and founders of these movements lived concretely, focusing both on their ascetic choices such as voluntary poverty and also highlighting the question of whether or not the founders and proponents of these movements themselves owned slaves. This is an effective and illuminating lens through which to regard this broad range of material, as it enables Ramelli to compare the real social impact of diverse ancient philosophical, theological, and ethical positions. Surveying this vast tradition with remarkable agility and acumen, Ramelli effectively highlights many examples in Stoic, Cynic, Platonic and Neoplatonic traditions, in Ancient ascetic Judaism, and in late-Antique Christianity, of philosophers who advocate living with the bare minimum, materially-speaking, and who would renounce keeping slaves, or reduce their number of household slaves, as part of living out an ideal of becoming dependent on nothing, and/or for the sake of personal purification. Key to her argument, however, is that theological and philosophical arguments for the illegitimacy and injustice of slavery as an institution – in which the renunciation of slavery is not merely recommended for ascetics, but is regarded as an ethical principle that ought to be upheld by all – were first clearly articulated in the work of Gregory Nyssen at the end of the fourth century. That said, in the centuries that unfolded between Socrates and Gregory of Nyssa, Ramelli finds many for whom their asceticism involves a reduction of exploitation in practice (e.g. renunciation of slavery, or treating slaves as philosophers, ascetics and equals), and several (e.g. Basil, John Chrysostom, Gregory Nazianzen, etc.) in the first few centuries of Christianity in particular who made the argument that “wealth is theft” and hence regarded their asceticism and voluntary poverty not merely as quests for personal liberation from dependence on material comforts, but also as importantly tied to “justice” for the poor. Ramelli’s strategy of analyzing diverse texts and authors with respect to the same set of practice-based questions concerning slavery, asceticism and social justice, is, as I said, illuminating and refreshing. I do think, however, that in a few of her analyses, this approach would have benefitted from some qualification. In particular, Ramelli’s strategy of treating indifferently minor heretical movements in the early Church and central figures in the Western tradition such as Socrates and St. Paul, can seem to miss out on an important element of analysis where the question of influence on public policy, on the organization of households, and on future Christian theological developments is concerned. A moment when such qualification seems to be most needed is in Chapter 2, where Ramelli searches for “the true Paul” and his real attitude

toward slavery and women, arguing that the letters in which Paul seems to defend most strongly the status quo (to reinforce women and slaves' submission) are most probably Pseudo-Pauline. This is an apologetic move that construes Paul as relatively less concerned than we might have believed to maintain traditional forms of dominance. I am sympathetic toward such an interpretation, and it is clear that there could be important theologically revisionist implications to successfully making the case that "the true Paul" in fact did not support the unilateral obligation (duty of submission) of wives to husbands and slaves to masters. However, especially given that Ramelli is most interested in questions of practice (how slaves / women were treated concretely within particular ascetic movements), the *historical* salience of her search for the "true Paul" is in need of clarification and defense in the context of this particular study. In other words, even were a case for Paul's liberalism on social questions to be well-defended and established, it would remain that the entire Pauline canon (falsely-attributed writings included) was understood as "the true Paul" for so many centuries that it is really *this* Paul that really influenced Christian theology and Christian defenses of the institution of slavery and the submission of women. In other words, while I think that a quest for authors' real positions is important and in the case of St. Paul should be influential for the way the *present* Church defines its understanding of interpersonal ethics, in a historical study of this kind that seeks to uncover the social implications (the real impact on real slaves) of particular philosophical and theological movements, seeking Paul's *true* position on slaves and women seems relatively less important than giving a careful account of the way the tradition really did receive and incarnate what they believed to be Paul's social teachings. That said, there are many good things about re-reading the tradition the way that Ramelli does, in light of the question of practice. The positive side of such an approach is that it gives Ramelli the capacity to draw to our attention the philosophical merit of what was condemned in the case of texts and individuals later declared heretical (e.g. The Secret Revelation of John in Chapter Two; The Acts of Thomas in Chapter Three; Eustathius in Chapter Seven). In cases like her re-reading of Paul, it also gives her the capacity to critique the centrality of certain positions on slaves and women that were long received as uncontroversial. However, it would in many cases be useful to Ramelli, in strengthening her interpretations, if she made explicit note of when she knew herself to be advancing a controversial interpretation, if she gave an account of the historical salience for doing so, and if she gave a more elaborate defense against possible counter-interpretations in those instances where her reading of particular authors is particularly controversial. A moment where the latter would be especially helpful is in Ramelli's discussion of Augustine in Chapter Four. In this chapter, Ramelli convincingly makes the case that Augustine upheld the status quo where slavery is concerned. However, her complementary argument that Augustine was not really a proponent of asceticism is less convincing. The primary evidence that Ramelli provides in support of the idea that Augustine was not a thoroughgoing ascetic is the detail that Augustine did not view ascetic life as *absolutely* good, but as good only insofar as it remained complementary, and subordinate, to the ecclesial hierarchy. In defense of this idea she cites the work of George Lawless, Robert Markus, and Daniel Caner – though without providing details as to their arguments – implying that since this case has been made by other historians, it need not be defended in particular detail in her own text. However, I have to admit that the attempt to oppose "true asceticism" and "subordination to the ecclesial hierarchy" strikes me as probably-foreign to the 4th century Christian worldview. Ramelli sets this up as a contrast in her discussion of Augustine, but a similar idea – that true ascetics should regard ascetic practice as valuable apart from its reception by the Church – reappears on several occasions throughout this study. Ramelli

seems to suggest that recommendations of ecclesial subordination or obedience are somehow outside of asceticism properly speaking, and may in fact be opposed to it conceptually. However, from my own research into the history of the virtue of “obedience”, it has been quite clear that from the time of desert monasticism, the Christian ascetic tradition has understood deference to the Church to be *integral* and *indispensable* to ascetic practice. A novelty of Christian asceticism, that distinguishes it from its ancient precursors, is that obedience and subordination are understood to be fruits of an authentic ascetic life, and evidence of the kind of virtuous disposition that is ideally cultivated even by desert monastics and hermits, those champions of early Christian asceticism. By stark contrast with asceticism in service of *autarkeia* or self-sufficiency – the way asceticism was more commonly understood in by Stoics, as Ramelli points out – in the desert monastic tradition we see that the renunciation of the individual *will* and individual *reasoning* were understood as the fruits of true asceticism. “Self-sufficiency” is not the goal of third and fourth century Christian asceticism, but rather increasing *dependency* on God whose will is understood to be communicated in a special way through one’s Abba and through the bishops. The most virtuous desert monk, the one most advanced in virtue, was often portrayed as the one who most truly developed the virtues of docility, obedience, and humility, and these virtues that were often exhibited through acts of deference to members of the ecclesial hierarchy. In Athanasius’ *Life of St. Antony* for example, St. Antony – who is unquestionably an ascetic and indeed the spiritual father of Western asceticism – is especially praised for his readiness to defer to priests who would visit him. The development of humble obedience, even to superiors lacking in virtue, is also emphasized strongly in the work of John Cassian to the point where it seems to be the chief disposition sought by ascetics, and cultivated in the Abba-disciple relationship. So if Augustine does see monastic asceticism as integral to the Church and supportive of the ecclesial hierarchy, this is far from being evidence that he undervalues asceticism: many other notable ascetics from the 3rd and 4th centuries also took this idea for granted. Further evidence provided by Ramelli against Augustine’s asceticism include his Letter 262, in which he expresses disapproval of the attempted-celibacy of a married couple (which ultimately ends in the husband’s adultery), as evidence that he did not consistently or absolutely endorse asceticism. However, the celibacy recommended for hermits and monastics has rarely been recommended for married couples by those theologians (amongst them, many proponents of asceticism) whose writings were treated by the tradition as orthodox. And Augustine clearly does advocate asceticism elsewhere in his writings, choosing celibacy himself and advancing a new form of organized ascetic lifestyle in his Rule. Thus, Ramelli’s argument that Augustine was not truly or fully an ascetic lacks adequate defense. It seems it would have been more sound in this case for Ramelli to have ceded that Augustine was an ascetic, who advocates asceticism in a manner consistent with other ascetics of the 4th century, but who nevertheless – for reasons connected with his vision of ideal social organization – presents no serious objections toward the institution of slavery and the subservience of women, and indeed may endorse these social inequalities. Although I have some reservations about certain of Ramelli’s interpretations, however, I should say that I think Ramelli’s project in this book has very important theological implications, and a capacity to contribute in significant ways to contemporary discussions about Christian social ethics. Early Christian theological justifications for, and critiques of, slavery are still relevant, and appear today in questions about relationship Christians ought to have to wealth, and what their obligations may be to the masses of people in the world who are constrained to work for less-than-subsistence wages. Former justifications of slavery have been displaced into justifications for having a poorly paid working class, whether

at home or abroad. A shift in our forms of economic production mean that today's "slaves" don't always live in the households of the rich, and hence their oppression is not so continually and immediately visible. However, the Church continues to struggle to situate itself in a world where vast economic inequalities have rendered the majority of the world slaves to the handful that are "free" in the sense of having access to education, opportunities and upward social mobility. By drawing our attention to ancient ascetics who made choices to renounce wealth and opportunities, and by highlighting that this tends to be better and more ethical when it is done for the sake of improving the condition of the poor (and not for the sake of personal purification), Ramelli advances an interpretation of this ancient material that should also speak to us today, calling us to a life of greater solidarity.

Amy BARNES.

Stéphane RATTI, *Le premier saint Augustin*, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 2016, 21,5 × 15 cm, 350 p., 23,90 €, , ISBN 978-2-251-44610-3.

Le premier Augustin est celui de l'époque où il « ne fut pas un saint » (p. 11), i.e. jusqu'en 395 (et non 386, année de la conversion). Cette période est connue principalement par les *Confessions* ; écrites autour de 400, elles voient Dieu agissant sur Augustin, mais longtemps à son insu ; elles opposent en fait amour des lettres et amour de Dieu, d'où cette « culpabilité permanente » (p. 43). En vingt chapitres, l'auteur tâche de retrouver ce qu'il en fut réellement. Ces textes furent des cours à l'Université pour tous de Bourgogne, à Dijon (UTB), d'où quelques généralités et répétitions. Tout d'abord, le milieu culturel (latin, mais aussi grec et punique) et le contexte politique, avec la très juste et toujours actuelle mise en valeur du légitimisme romain, opposé à l'arbitraire et à la barbarie. Le chapitre 2 s'attache à la formation intellectuelle d'Augustin, qui se vautra dans les fictions poétiques et les blandices rhétoriques, pour les vilipender plus tard. Chapitres 3 et 7 : Augustin eut un fils, Adéodat, d'une femme qu'il aimait ardemment (l'auteur décrit la sexualité d'Augustin), mais que les ambitions sociales de sa mère Monique chassèrent définitivement. Augustin ne se consola jamais de l'éloignement d'une femme présente pendant seize ans. Ici et tout au long du livre, l'auteur émet de fortes nuances sur *sainte* Monique (d'où l'impasse sur l'extase d'Ostie et de simples allusions à la mort de Monique). Carthage, à présent (chap. 5-8) : néoplatonisme, spectacles... L'attention se concentre sur Hierius, rhéteur renommé, admiré par Augustin ; les spécialistes noteront le rôle d'Hierius dans les *Grandes déclamations* 3 et 10 du Ps.-Quintilien et la correction *Attico*, au lieu de *arrico*, dans la *subscriptio* de la déclamation 10 (p. 115-118). Rome (chap. 9-10) et surtout Milan (chap. 11-14) : prestige d'Augustin devenu *rhéteur* (grâce à Symmaque, p. 148-52), rencontre d'Ambroise. La conversion n'est pas due aux reliques, juste alors découvertes, des saints Gervais et Protas ; l'épisode du jardin, qui a fait couler tant d'encre (l'auteur suit Courcelle, contre Marrou, p. 190 sq.), n'est qu'une étape dans la conversion ; entre 386 et 395 (accès au siège épiscopal), doutes et recherche. Cassiciacum en 386-387 (chap. 15) et Thagaste de 388 à 391 (chap. 16) : approfondissement plus philosophique que chrétien ; Augustin écrit : vraiment, il n'a pas rompu avec la *paideia*. Nommé prêtre en janvier 391 à Hippone, il met fin à ses hésitations et, devenu évêque en 395, rompt avec la *paideia* (chap. 17 et 19), pour devenir un prédicateur aussi célèbre et prolifique que combatif (chap. 20). Le chapitre 18 est un parallèle piquant entre Jérôme et Augustin, qui, au fond, se détestaient. Le long épilogue, à l'intertexte impressionnant sur les milieux intellectuels, concentré sur les provocations païennes de l'ancien disciple Volusianus autour de 411 (*Ep.* 135 et 137), montre comment le choix de 395 fut tenu, malgré certains reproches : c'est maintenant *saint* Augustin.

Bernard STENUIT.

Michele Renee SALZMAN / Marianne SAGHY / Rita LIZZI TESTA (ed.), *Pagans and Christians in Late Antique Rome: Conflict, Competition, and Coexistence in the Fourth Century*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2016, 23,5 × 15,5 cm, xv + 419 p., fig., 74,99 £ / 120 \$, ISBN 978-1-107-11030-4.

Der hier zu rezensierende Band präsentiert die Ergebnisse einer Tagung, die am 20. und 21. September 2012 in der Ungarischen Akademie in Rom stattfand (Kongressbericht: Giulia Marconi, *BStudLat* 43, 2013, S. 264-270). Thema derselben war das Verhältnis zwischen Heiden und Christen im vierten Jahrhundert in der Stadt Rom. Die (nur begrenzt hilfreiche) Untergliederung der insgesamt achtzehn Beiträge lautet wie folgt: „Part I. Senatorial politics and religious conflict“ (S. 9-111); „Part II. The construction of new religious identities“ (S. 113-194); „Part III. Pagans and Christians: coexistence and competition“ (S. 195-398); „Section A. Pagans and religious practices in Christian Rome“ (S. 195-270); „Section B. Death and the afterlife“ (S. 271-340); „Section C. Reading religious iconography as evidence for Pagan-Christian relations“ (S. 341-398). Nach einer Liste der Abbildungen (S. ix-x), Kurzbiographien der Autoren (S. xi-xiv) und der Danksagung (S. xv) setzt der Band mit der Einleitung der drei Herausgeberinnen (S. 1-8) ein, in der die Grundzüge der Forschung sehr knapp skizziert und die einzelnen Beiträge zusammengefasst werden. Zu den einzelnen Aufsätzen: Michele Renee Salzman (*Constantine and the Roman senate: conflict, cooperation, and concealed resistance*, S. 11-45) untersucht das Verhältnis Konstantins zum römischen Senat. Die Rombesuche Konstantins (312, 315, 326) haben vielfältige Gründe und sprechen eher für ein gutes Verhältnis mit dem Senat. Auch die Ernennung christlicher Stadtpräfekten hat keine heidenfeindlichen Motive, da die meisten Präfekten unter Konstantin heidnisch sind und auch die christlichen Präfekten, die erst ab 324 belegt sind, aus wichtigen senatorischen Familien stammen. Widerstand seitens des Senates gegen Konstantin scheint eher in versteckter Form (durch anonyme Kritik oder ein betontes Heidentum) praktiziert worden zu sein, allerdings ist insgesamt von beiden Seiten eine weitgehende Bereitschaft zur Kooperation feststellbar. Robert R. Chenault (*Beyond Pagans and Christians: politics and intra-Christian conflict in the controversy over the altar of Victory*, S. 46-63) wirft einen erneuten Blick auf die Kontroverse um den Altar der Victoria, wobei er sich auf das Verhalten des römischen Bischofs Damasus konzentriert. Ambrosius belegt nur den Widerspruch des Damasus gegen einen Versuch des Senats, im Jahre 383 die Entfernung des Altars rückgängig zu machen, nicht aber gegen den erneuten Versuch im Jahre 384. Das wird zum einen mit der Opposition des Damasus gegen den Stadtpräfekten von 383 erklärt, vor allem aber damit, dass die Stellungnahme als Demonstration gegenüber einem christlichen Publikum beabsichtigt war, ohne auf eine systematische religiöse oder ideologische Opposition des Damasus gegenüber dem Altar zurückzugehen. Der Beitrag von Alan Cameron (*Were Pagans afraid to speak their minds in a Christian world? The correspondence of Symmachus*, S. 64-111), der auch zeitgleich an anderer Stelle erschien (Alan Cameron, *Studies on Late Roman Literature and History*, Bari 2016, S. 223-265) ist das Meisterstück des Bandes. Cameron geht der Frage nach, ob sich im Briefcorpus des Symmachus (Selbst-)Zensur nachweisen lässt und ob diese in seinem Heidentum bedingt sein können. Die Auslassungen, die in dem Corpus feststellbar sind, haben politische, nicht stilistische Gründe; dasselbe sei bei Libanios der Fall (hierzu wäre noch Lieve Van Hoof, *Self-censorship and self-fashioning: Gaps in Libanios' letter-collection*, in *RBPh* 92, 2014, S. 209-229 zu nennen gewesen). Die Kürze der Briefe ist stilistisch bedingt, worauf Symmachus selbst hinweist, und die Briefe, die keine Adressaten aufweisen, unterscheiden sich nicht von anderen mit einem überlieferten Adressaten, zumal einige nicht genannte Adressaten als Christen

identifiziert werden können. Die fehlende Ordnung der Bücher 8 und 9 ist durch den Tod des Symmachus vor der Publikation begründet, nach dem die Briefe nicht mehr sicher ihren Adressaten zugeordnet werden konnten. Keinen Hinweis auf Zensur bietet auch die in der Antike übliche Praxis, nicht alle Inhalte schriftlich, sondern teilweise auch mündlich überliefern zu lassen. Bei den Informationen, die in den Briefen als Anhänge erwähnt, aber nicht in die Sammlung aufgenommen wurden, handelt es sich um Auflistungen, die aus stilistischen Gründen ausgelassen wurden. Zuletzt erwähnt Symmachus auch seine Priesterschaften offen in den publizierten Briefen. Hinweise darauf, dass Symmachus in seinen Briefen nicht alles frei sagen konnte und sich einer Selbstzensur unterwarf, gibt es dennoch, doch handelt es sich dabei um politische Themen, die dem Kaiser vorbehalten waren und zu denen das Heidentum nicht gehörte. Thomas Jürgasch (*Christians and the invention of Paganism in the late Roman empire*, S. 115-138) bietet eine begriffsgeschichtliche Studie zu dem Wort *paganus*, das im Rahmen des Strebens der christlichen Autoren nach Identität zu verstehen ist. Die Konzepte von Heidentum und Christentum sind dabei eng verbunden mit der sozialen Realität, die sie beschreiben. Douglas Boin (*Late antique divi and imperial priests of the late fourth and early fifth centuries*, S. 139-161) nimmt die spätantiken divinisierten Kaiser in den Blick (nicht bekannt ist ihm die materialreiche, allerdings oft nicht sonderlich tiefeschürfende Dissertation von Barbara Troeger, *Posthume Ehrungen für die christlichen Kaiser des 4. Jahrhunderts*, Mannheim, 1991). Die Verstreutheit und die fehlende Einheitlichkeit der Belege bezeugt eine Flexibilität des spätantiken Kultsystems. Der Begriff des *diuus* weist in seiner Bedeutung zudem keine Änderung gegenüber früheren Zeit auf. Maijastina Kahlos (*Artis heu magicis: the label of magic in fourth-century conflicts and disputes*, S. 162-177) und Daniëlle Slootjes (*Crowd behavior in late antique Rome*, S. 178-194) bieten zwei weiter gefasste Überblicke zu den Themen Magie und Massenbewegungen in der Spätantike. Beide bieten eine große Menge an Material auf verhältnismäßig begrenztem Raum, wobei Kahlos zum Zwecke der Kontextualisierung eher eine Art kurzgefasstes Handbuch zum Thema bietet, während Slootjes hingegen einen Einzelaspekt von Vorarbeiten für ein umfangreicheres Projekt (das dann vermutlich auch die hier nicht genannten Spezialstudien von Alfred Knepe, *Untersuchungen zur städtischen Plebs des 4. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.*, Bonn, 1979, und Hans Peter Kohns, *Versorgungskrisen und Hungerrevolten im spätantiken Rom*, Bonn, 1961, berücksichtigt). Jonas Bjørnebye (*Reinterpreting the cult of Mithras*, S. 197-212) kommt in seinen Untersuchungen zum Mithraskult zu dem Schluss, dass die Flexibilität und Anpassungsfähigkeit des Kultes es ermöglichte, auch im christlichen Kaiserreich fortzubestehen, bis wachsender indirekter Druck im fünften Jahrhundert dann zu seiner Auflösung führte. Dennis E. Trout (*Napkin art: carmina contra paganos and the difference satire made in fourth-century Rome*, S. 213-231) wirft einen Blick auf die satirische Dichtung christlicher Autoren und erachtet die dort dargestellten Heiden als weitgehend fiktiv, wenngleich in ihrer Darstellung natürlich gegen vorhandene Personen und Strukturen gerichtet. Neil McLynn (*Poetry and Pagans in late antique Rome: the case of the senator "converted from the Christian religion to servitude to the idols"*, S. 232-250), dessen Thema das *Carmen ad quendam senatorem ex christiana religione ad idolorum servitutem conuersum* ist, arbeitet auf Basis dieses Werkes den Fortbestand und die Aktivität des Heidentums zu seiner Abfassungszeit heraus. Francesca Diosono (*Professiones gentilitiae: the collegia of Rome between Paganism and Christianity*, S. 251-270) zeigt in ihrer Untersuchung der *collegia*, dass Heidentum dort auch im fünften Jahrhundert noch ein relevanter Bestandteil blieb. Nicola Denzey Lewis (*Reinterpreting "Pagans" and "Christians" from Rome's late antique mortuary evidence*, S. 273-290) wirft einen Blick auf die Begräbnisstätten im spätantiken Rom, die im Wesentlichen von sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Faktoren,

weniger hingegen von religiösen geprägt sind. Monica Hellström (*On the form and function of Constantine's circiform funerary basilicas in Rome*, S. 291-313) weist ebenfalls darauf hin, dass die konstantinischen Begräbnisbasiliken nicht einem Bedürfnis nach spezifisch christlichen Begräbnisstätten geschuldet sind. Marianne Sághy (*Romanae gloria plebis: bishop Damasus and the traditions of Rome*, S. 314-327) arbeitet die Bemühungen des römischen Bischofs Damasus, die noch stark von griechischer Kultur geprägte christliche Gemeinschaft, etwa durch die Verwendung der Sprache Vergils, stärker in die lateinische Tradition einzuordnen, heraus. Gitte Lønstrup Dal Santo (*Storytelling and cultural memory in the making: celebrating Pagan and Christian founders of Rome*, S. 328-340) befasst sich mit den Hintergründen des Kultes von Petrus und Paulus, den sie nicht als Stellungnahme gegen heidnische Mythen, sondern durch seine Betonung der *concordia* als Mittel zur Einigung der christlichen Gemeinde ansieht. Caroline Michel d'Annoville (*Rome and imagery in late antiquity: perception and use of statues*, S. 343-357) geht dem Bedeutungswandel von Statuen und Kultstatuen in der Spätantike nach. Silviu Anghel (*What to do with sacra antiqua? A reinterpretation of the sculptures from S. Martino ai Monti in Rome*, S. 358-376) untersucht die aus dem zweiten Jahrhundert stammenden Skulpturen in der Villa in S. Martino ai Monti und kann zeigen, dass deren Weiterverwendung in der Villa des vierten Jahrhunderts keine dezidiert religiösen Gründe hat. Levente Nagy (*Myth and salvation in the fourth century: representations of Hercules in Christian contexts*, S. 377-398) wirft einen Blick auf die Darstellung der Figur des Herkules in der Spätantike, anhand derer er zu dem Schluss gelangt, dass eine Unvereinbarkeit zwischen heidnischer und christlicher Tradition in dieser Form nicht bestand. Die Schlussworte von Rita Lizzi Testa (*Concluding remarks: Vrbs Roma between Pagans and Christians*, S. 399-407) geleiten nochmals durch einige zentrale Forschungen zu der Thematik allgemein. Der Registerteil (S. 409-419) erfasst Namen und Sachen, nicht aber Quellenzitate. Die Breite der in dem Band zu Wort kommenden Teildisziplinen bezeugt die Vielfalt der dort gebotenen Forschungen, macht es dem Einzelnen aber auch schwierig, sich kompetent zu allen Beiträgen zu äußern. Generell weisen alle Aufsätze die Kriterien seriöser und eingehender Forschung auf; wenn Manches hier eingehender diskutiert und Anderes nur kurz zusammengefasst wurde, ist das den Interessen des Rezensenten geschuldet. Kleinere Fehler und Irrtümer sind selten und nie schwerwiegend (S. 2 „Block“ statt richtig „Bloch“; S. 26, Anm. 71 „Weisweiler“ statt richtig „Weisweiler“; S. 73, Anm. 43 „Shackelton“ statt richtig „Shackleton“; S. 140, Anm. 4 wäre Marcellinus comes nicht nach der PL zu zitieren gewesen; S. 147, Anm. 39 „Two Maximians“ statt richtig „Two Maximins“; S. 150 „divusValentinian“; S. 356 „pagan s“). Insgesamt also bietet der Band wertvolle Einzelstudien wie ein nützliches Kompendium zum Verhältnis von Heiden und Christen in der spätantiken Stadt Rom. Weitere Rezensionen: Matthias Becker, *HZ* 305, 2017, S. 173-174; Alexandra Eppinger, *BMCRev* Januar 2017, Nr. 31 (<http://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/2017/2017-01-31.html>); Jacob A. Latham, *JRS* 107, 2017, S. 449-450; Arnaldo Marcone, *RSI* 129, 2017, S. 327-332. Raphael BRENDL.

Martin STÖCKINGER, *Vergils Gaben. Materialität, Reziprozität und Poetik in den Eklogen und der Aeneis*, Heidelberg, Universitätsverlag Winter, 2016 (Bibliothek der klassischen Altertumswissenschaften. Neue Folge. 2. Reihe, 148), 24 × 16 cm, viii-281 p., 45 €, ISBN 978-3-8253-6462-5.

Stöckinger möchte zeigen, dass die nicht wenigen Szenen bei Vergil, in denen Gegenstände als Gaben im weitesten Sinne den Besitzer wechseln – außer Geschenken u.a. Insignien, Pfand, Beutestücke und Opfergaben –, von Bedeutung für die Interpretation

des jeweiligen Textes, ja sogar metapoetisch relevant sind. Bei seinen Analysen von zwei Eklogen (2 und 3) und einzelnen *Aeneis*-Passagen – zu den *Georgica* äußert er sich lediglich in einem Exkurs innerhalb der Einleitung (S. 17-25), der am ausgiebigsten den Octavian zu weihenden Tempel (3,1ff.) behandelt – berücksichtigt Stöckinger sowohl die Gegebenheiten der zeitgenössischen Gesellschaft (wobei er ebenso auf literaturwissenschaftliche wie auf anthropologische, ethnologische, soziologische und philosophische Untersuchungen, darunter Marcel Mauss, *Essai sur le don* von 1925, rekurriert) als auch Vergils Prätexte, vor allem Theokrit bzw. Homer. Sein spezielles Augenmerk gilt außer der Materialität der Gaben ihrer Reziprozität, also den Austauschprozessen zwischen Menschen. Es ist zu begrüßen, dass Stöckinger nicht, wie es früher in einer Dissertation zum Thema „x bei Autor y“ geschehen wäre (auch Stöckingers Buch war ursprünglich eine, betreut von Jürgen Paul Schwindt in Heidelberg), alle Passagen in *Bucolica* und *Aeneis*, an denen von einem Besitzerwechsel die Rede ist, einbezieht und typologisch erfasst, sondern exemplarisch vorgeht: Er bespricht die zwei Hirtengedichte stellvertretend für die übrigen acht auf mehreren Seiten und beschränkt sich bei den von ihm ausgewählten *Aeneis*-Passagen auf solche, in denen die Auseinandersetzung mit der Reziprozität seiner Meinung nach entweder zur Erklärung der Einlage einer Erzählung oder der Motivierung und Ausgestaltung der Haupthandlung beiträgt. Für *Ecl.* 2 und 3, Thema des ersten von drei Teilen seiner Monographie, hat Stöckinger sich, wie Andeutungen vermuten lassen (eine explizite Begründung fehlt), deshalb entschlossen, weil er sie für die beiden ältesten *carmina* der *Bucolica* und somit für besonders „theokritisch“ hält (S. 30 bzw. 63); dass man Gedichtbücher heute als Produkte einer kunstvollen Komposition und nicht mehr als Konglomerat verschieden zu datierender Texte betrachtet, ignoriert er. Es ist dann auch fast nichts Neues, was er zu bieten hat, am wenigsten in seinen Bemerkungen zu *Ecl.* 3, die er im Grunde nur nacherzählt, wobei er hervorhebt, dass der zu dem Wettgesang hinführende Dialog der zwei Hirten von ihrem gegensätzlichen Verhältnis zu Besitz und Eigentum beherrscht ist, sie sich dann aber einander annähern und im Wettgesang „zu zwei Stimmen eines Liedes“ werden (S. 89). Zu *Ecl.* 2 hätte man gern erfahren, ob sich aus Stöckingers Deutung mit dem Schwerpunkt auf Corydons Schenkfreudigkeit ein neues Argument für die Beantwortung der oft gestellten Frage nach dem Sprecher von vv. 69-73 (*a Corydon, Corydon, quae te dementia cepit ...*) ergibt, aber Stöckinger verkündet einfach, er schließe sich Michael von Albrecht an, der die Verse „überzeugend“ dem Hirten zuweise (S. 47f.). Der metadiegetischen Erzählung des Aeneas in Buch 2 und 3 und derjenigen Euanders in Buch 8 (vv. 184-267) widmet Stöckinger sich im ersten von zwei Abschnitten in Teil 2 seiner Monographie als den Schaltgeschichten, die „in reziproke Situationen der Gastfreundschaft eingebunden sind“ (S. 91ff.). Aeneas bringe in den zwischen ihm und seiner Gastgeberin Dido erfolgenden „Tauschprozess“ kein ökonomisches, aber immerhin „symbolisches“ Kapital ein. Denn aus dem Bericht des durch Schiffbruch vieler seiner Güter beraubten Helden gehe sein sehr hohes Sozialprestige hervor, er stärke somit seine gesellschaftliche Position gegenüber der reichen Königin und vermehre zugleich ihr „symbolisches Kapital“, also ihre Macht und ihr Ansehen innerhalb Karthagos. Das mag noch einleuchten, zumal durch das, was Stöckinger hier sieht, die anschließend in Buch 4 geschilderten Vorgänge wenigstens teilweise erklärbar sind. Aber dann entwickelt Stöckinger aus vv. 4,78f., laut denen Aeneas seinen Bericht oft wiederholt und Dido ihm dann an den Lippen gegangen habe (*pendetque ... narrantis ab ore*), mit Bezugnahme auf *Lucr.* 1,37, wo Mars an Venus' Lippen hängt (*eque tuo pendet ... ore*), die These, die beiden Verse evozierten sowohl das Liebesverhältnis von Kriegsgott und Liebesgöttin in *De rerum natura* als auch die empedokleische Allegorese des Liebesverhältnisses von Ares und Aphrodite in *Hom. Od.* 8,266ff. und beides solle durch die Anspielung „für eine Beschreibung der sozialen Beziehung zwischen Aeneas und Dido produktiv gemacht werden“ (S. 106).

Dies ist eine von zahlreichen Spekulationen, denen man mindestens mit Skepsis begegnen wird – ganz davon abgesehen, dass man sich schwer vorstellen kann, die zeitgenössischen Leser seien zur Wahrnehmung eines so subtilen Falls von Intertextualität fähig gewesen. Auf der anderen Seite legt Stöckinger im Zusammenhang mit der Cacus-Geschichte sehr breit dar, was längst erkannt ist und ganz zweifellos bereits den Rezipienten der Augustus-Ära klar war: Aeneas werde durch sie auf die Hercules-Rolle eingestimmt. Nach den eingeschalteten Erzählungen erörtert Stöckinger in Abschnitt 2 des Teils 2 die „Biographien“ von Artefakten; so nennt er Gegenstände, die als Erinnerungsträger fungieren oder Ereignisse in Gang bringen können: das in Actium errichtete Tropaion des Aeneas (3,286-288), die Waffen des Mezentius (11,5-16), die Gaben der Andromache (3,482-491), das Schwert der Dido (bes. 4,647), den Panzer für Mnestheus (5,258-265) und den Schild für Nisus (5,538-561) sowie Geschenke, die zur Anwendung einer List eingesetzt werden, diejenigen, welche Dido erhält und vor allem das Trojanische Pferd. Aber viel mehr als Inhaltsparaphrasen bekommen wir auch hier nicht geboten, und wenn als Prätext für Vergils Version der Geschichte vom Pferd der Pandora-Mythos bemüht wird (S. 152-159), ist der Gewinn für eine Würdigung von *Aen.* 2,13ff. nicht recht erkennbar, schon gar nicht, wenn man z.B. den klassischen Aufsatz von Bernard Knox damit vergleicht (in *AJPh* 71, 1950, 379ff.). Unter den in Teil 3 des Buches genannten *dona* und ähnlichen Gegenständen, die das Geschehen der *Aeneis* beeinflussen – Stöckinger redet sprachlich für mich nicht nachvollziehbar von konvergierenden „Schenk- und Erzählstrukturen“ (S. 197) –, musste natürlich auch das Wehrgehenk des Pallas näher betrachtet werden (S. 164-166), aber Stöckinger äußert sich mit keiner Silbe zu dem sehr häufig diskutierten, bis heute nicht restlos überzeugend gelösten Problem, welche Bedeutung der auf dem *balteus* abgebildete Danaidenmythos für die Schlusszene des Epos haben könnte. Andererseits beginnt Stöckinger in diesem Abschnitt seiner Monographie sich zu wiederholen, indem er zum zweiten Mal ausgiebig über die Funktion der Geschenke innerhalb der Dido-Tragödie spricht (S. 178ff.). Man fragt sich, ob es wirklich einer Spezialstudie zu den Gaben in der *Aeneis* bedarf, damit in diesem Kontext folgende Erkenntnis gewonnen werden kann: „Das Ende der Liebesbeziehung zwischen Aeneas und Dido besteht [...] in einem Abbruch der Kommunikation im wörtlichen Sinn: Nicht nur die Worte, auch die *munera* haben ihre Kraft verloren“ (S. 185). Das forcierte Wortspiel (welches der lateinische Text ja gar nicht vorgibt) täuscht nicht darüber hinweg, dass, was dieser Satz konstatiert, jeder aufmerksame Leser von Buch 4 von selbst wahrnehmen kann. So ermüden Stöckingers Darlegungen allmählich, und diesen Effekt hat ebenso der Abschnitt über die Rolle der Penaten im Epos mit dem Resultat, ihre Überführung von Troja nach Italien sei „die entscheidende Gabe der *Aeneis*“ (S. 224). Und wenn Stöckinger abschließend den Schild erstmals als *donum* interpretiert (und das mit Recht: vgl. 8,608f. *Venus ... dona ferens*) und dabei u.a. zu der Feststellung gelangt, Aeneas sei, „indem er den Schild annimmt ... endgültig als Stammvater Roms profiliert“ (S. 232), glaubt man auch das schon einmal festgestellt zu haben. Man sah halt bisher kein „symbolisches Kapital“ (S. 232) in diesem Artefakt, hat aber nach Lektüre von Stöckingers Arbeit auch nicht den Eindruck, als müsse man das unbedingt. Dieses Buch gehört zu einem seit Jahren immer wieder erscheinenden Typus von Abhandlung zu Werken der antiken Literatur, deren Autoren offensichtlich nicht mehr daran gelegen ist, sich um ein genaues Verständnis dessen zu bemühen, was im Text steht, sondern nur noch zwischen den Zeilen zu lesen. Gestützt auf eine irgendwann in Mode gekommene Theorie – hier derjenigen zur Intertextualität –, erzielen sie Ergebnisse, die auch mit geringerem Aufwand hätten erzielt werden können bzw. längst erzielt wurden. Was für diese Art von Analyse poetischer Werke außerdem charakteristisch ist, gilt gleichfalls für diejenige, die Stöckinger präsentiert: Nicht ein einziges Wort wird über Stil und Metrik der untersuchten Verse gesagt.

Niklas HOLZBERG.

Virginie SUBIAS-KONOFAL, *Poétique de la prière dans les œuvres d'Ovide*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2016 (Recherches sur les rhétoriques religieuses, 20), 24 × 16 cm, 442 p., tabl., 85 €, ISBN 978-2-503-56795-2.

Le livre de Virginie Subias-Konofal est publié dans la collection *Recherches sur les Rhétoriques Religieuses* dirigée par G. Freyburger et L. Pernot, axée sur les rapports entre le langage et le divin. Son enquête a pour objet la mise en œuvre de la prière dans les poèmes d'Ovide, avec en particulier une exploration fine des points de rencontre entre *carmen* religieux et *carmen* poétique. Recherche intéressante dans la mesure où la tradition a retenu en cet auteur un esprit rationaliste, volontiers irrespectueux et matérialiste. Or les prières abondent dans l'ensemble du corpus, et sous des formes variées, qui n'avaient pas encore fait l'objet d'un inventaire : demandes de faveur, d'expiation, de renseignement, malédictions, hymnes, plaintes, y compris prières amoureuses et imprécations. L'auteure commence par comparer les prières ovidiennes avec les prières historiquement attestées dans les pratiques religieuses romaines, dans le but de dégager leurs spécificités ; elle aboutit à l'idée que la poésie, loin d'altérer leur profondeur ou leur authenticité, en sublime la dimension sacrée. Analysées comme constructions rhétoriques et esthétiques, les prières ovidiennes entremêlent en effet stylèmes poétiques émanant de la tradition littéraire et stylèmes religieux issus de la liturgie de l'époque augustéenne. La poésie devient alors, par le concours de ses sonorités, de sa métrique, de son rythme, musique sacrée célébrant la beauté du monde et jouant le miracle de la création. C'est donc une facette moins connue d'Ovide qui se trouve mise en lumière, une facette qui contraste avec celle du *magister amoris* iconoclaste et sceptique, pourfendeur du régime augustéen et des valeurs établies : celle d'un adorateur de l'harmonie universelle, sensible aux charmes du langage et de la nature, inquiet des questions métaphysiques, aussi soucieux de comprendre l'origine des causes que de questionner le devenir de l'homme ou sa place dans le monde. La recherche met ainsi en évidence une sensibilité ovidienne au divin et au sacré. Des questions restent en suspens, sur le sens religieux d'Ovide : quel crédit accorde-t-il à ces divinités qu'il invoque, quelle intimité a-t-il avec elles ? Mais nous sommes dans un contexte polythéiste, ritualisé et païen, non comparable avec l'ontologie chrétienne, et l'objectif de la chercheuse était de sonder les propriétés de la prière comme vecteur du lien unissant humains et divinités. Or ce lien s'avère ici imprégné d'émotions et d'harmoniques. Le livre est structuré en trois parties équilibrées. La première partie confronte les rituels publics romains aux prières ovidiennes listées dans une typologie exhaustive. La deuxième partie s'attache à la mise en scène de la prière, en recensant les acteurs (orants, hommes, héros, prêtres, fidèles, destinataires, narrateurs) ainsi que les circonstances et lieux de la prière (lieux inaugurés, efficacité de la prière, gestes rituels). Enfin la troisième partie analyse la mise en mots de la prière (formules d'encadrement, de clôture, modes verbaux, invocation, examen des théonymes et épiclèses). Par son architecture claire, l'ouvrage est agréable à lire, et servi par une rédaction enlevée. Un index, en fin de volume, regroupe les références aux auteurs, œuvres, notions clés, expressions, divinités. Un nombre important d'annexes rassemble des tableaux, dont un référent général aux études stylistiques et métriques et un corpus complet des prières triées selon leur nature, leurs modalités, leur destination, leur localisation dans l'œuvre. Un certain nombre de tableaux sont par ailleurs insérés dans le corps de l'ouvrage comme celui sur la typologie des prières ovidiennes (p. 48), qui fait apparaître un nombre plus élevé de malédictions que de prières amoureuses. La bibliographie est dans son ensemble bien documentée, notamment sur l'hymne, ou sur la religion et la magie, avec des références à un grand nombre d'écrivains antiques, pour une vision d'ensemble de la question (et le lecteur qui voudra prolonger l'enquête pourra se reporter aux titres

suivants : M. Martin, *Magie et magiciens dans le monde gréco-romain*, Paris, 2005 ; P. Charvet et A.-M. Ozanam, *La magie, voix secrètes de l'Antiquité*, Paris, 1994). Le principal apport de ce livre réside dans les arguments qui montrent comment Ovide se réapproprie le langage précatif pour en donner une inflexion personnelle. Par-delà la reprise d'éléments formulaires stéréotypés, le poète de Sulmone élabore ainsi un langage religieux « idiosyncrasique » si l'on ose dire, par où se révèle une conscience du sacré qui lui est propre. Un exemple : dans les épiclèses des invocations, il use de mots rares ou d'hapax, qui laissent supposer la création d'un langage du sacré qui n'appartient qu'à lui, y compris lorsque ces termes constituent des défis pour la métrique (*mareoticaque, genialiaque, palmiferamque*). Cette étude fait également apparaître une proximité frappante des séquences de prière avec la magie. Cette parenté est un fait maintenant bien connu de la recherche, mais l'ouvrage le montre clairement. Le chant des Arvales, document passionnant sur les rituels, fait apparaître la proximité du discours religieux avec l'envoûtement magique, avec ses répétitions incantatoires de phonèmes qui font songer à celles employées dans les tablettes de défexion. Les récurrences phoniques observables dans les prières d'*euocatio*, de *deuotio*, de *lustratio* illustrent par la circularité du son la parenté entre textes précatifs et textes magiques. L'invocation au dieu joue également de la force expressive et coercitive de la nomination, y compris dans les hymnes, dont la structure développe et explicite le nom identifiant le dieu. Nommer participe dès lors d'un principe d'individuation, d'une activité ordonnatrice jusqu'à même avoir pour finalité de faire advenir à l'existence la déité invoquée. Les gestes rituels accompagnant le discours, ablutions, aspersions d'objet, décorations avec rameaux de feuillage, fumigations, là encore en phase avec certaines pratiques magiques, donnent lieu à des commentaires fins de l'auteur. Ces développements sont d'autant plus intéressants que l'on sait le scepticisme d'Ovide en matière de pratique magique. L'on trouvera en outre des prises de position de l'auteur sur des sujets controversés, comme le débat concernant la déesse de la rouille du blé, Robigo, célébrée dans les *Fastes* par le flamme de Quirinus. V. Subias-Konofal note que les autres sources ne mentionnent pas l'identité de l'officiant et évoquent un dieu Robigus au masculin, ce qui pose question sur la valeur documentaire du texte d'Ovide et sur ses éventuelles modifications par rapport à la tradition. Elle pense que, dans cet écart par rapport à la religion traditionnelle, le poète donnerait le simulacre poétique d'un rituel romain qu'il métamorphose par une langue poétique nouvelle. S'il y a vraiment innovation, ce choix ovidien montre son audace. Concernant le débat sur l'étymologie de *supplex* (rattaché soit à *plicare*, « plier son corps », soit à *placere*, « chercher à plaire au dieu »), elle relève que, dans la poésie augustéenne, la sollicitation du dieu s'accompagne d'une posture de génuflexion, et elle penche en faveur de la première hypothèse, tout en postulant l'élaboration d'une tradition littéraire autonome, distincte des usages de la société romaine. Un autre chapitre du livre (p. 174 et suiv.) revient sur l'*actio*, la posture physique accompagnant la prière. La gestuelle en est codifiée, y compris pour les prières jaculatoires : l'orant prie debout, lève les bras, dirige les paumes des mains vers le ciel ou la statue, dans une tension vers le divin. Moins chroniqueur que créateur, le poète agence des mises en scène novatrices et ritualise ses descriptions en refrains formulaires. Le lecteur glanera également des remarques théoriques (à la différence de la prière historique, la prière littéraire ne peut jaillir du silence mais se trouve forcément insérée dans un contexte qui en modifie la portée), d'autres sur la teneur de telle ou telle œuvre du poète (on trouve dans les *Fastes* davantage d'appels pathétiques aux dieux que d'actions de grâce), ou encore sur la présence des divinités favorites du poète (la figure de Bacchus domine le panthéon ovidien en concurrence avec celle d'Apollon jusqu'à même éclipser le dieu de la lumière dans les *Fastes* – avec le risque que cela pouvait représenter quand Bacchus évoquait les splendeurs d'un Orient

sulfureux associé à Antoine). Mais le mérite le plus grand du travail réside dans le chapitre de la troisième partie consacré aux études narratologiques et métriques, où sont analysés rigoureusement les aspects mélodiques et rythmiques des prières, point de vue d'autant plus pertinent que, dans les pratiques historiques, les célébrations rituelles étaient probablement accompagnées du chant de la flûte, à l'instar de certains genres poétiques. L'auteure dégage des structures verbales récurrentes, notamment l'ouverture d'un vers sur un monosyllabe long suivi immédiatement d'un pyrrhique, l'usage très fréquent de vers structurés autour de deux ou trois partages trochaïques, celui du schéma encadrant DSSD, propre à mimer la circularité du verbe magique, ou encore le schéma holodactylique entraînant « une accélération du débit propre à dire l'émotion » (p. 259). Elle met ainsi en évidence un style de fabrique ovidien, en précisant que ces usages sont la marque d'une rythmique de l'auteur davantage qu'ils ne seraient liés à un contenu prédicatif (même si par ailleurs, p. 233, elle démontre que l'énoncé précatif présente des modulations métriques différentes du reste du poème). Par l'analyse de cette *elocutio* spécifique, c'est tout à la fois une langue poétique singulière qui est caractérisée et une musicalité qui est mise en rapport avec le pythagorisme effectif ou supposé du poète. Si la poésie précative rejoue la création du monde dont elle se fait la métaphore, alors cela signifie qu'elle émane d'une inspiration dont on aimerait savoir si elle est extérieure à son émetteur ou intérieure à celui-ci (l'on renverra à l'interprétation discutée de *fert animus* dans le prologue des *Métamorphoses*, où *animus* représente, selon les critiques, l'entreprise d'ego ou le souffle de l'inspiration divine). Quoi qu'il en soit, cette sacralisation de la poésie par la sublimation de l'invention artistique est sans doute extensible à une grande part du corpus ovidien, y compris en dehors des discours de prière. On en trouvera une illustration dans le rapprochement que fait l'auteure (p. 180, note 32) entre deux extraits similaires où Callisto et Coronis tendent les bras vers le ciel : deux vers sont repris quasiment à l'identique, avec *uariatio* légère. Derrière la musique de l'écho, l'analogie suggère une forme d'union et de reliance par le verbe, et célèbre alors la communauté du vivant et des êtres unis par les mêmes lois. Ainsi, la poésie ovidienne serait célébration du chant du monde, avec la solennisation hymnique de Bacchus, dieu central du culte orphique (p. 285). Sur le plan formel, le lecteur pourra être gêné par une tendance au catalogue dans la composition de l'ouvrage. Le travail descriptif, de qualité, n'aménage guère de transitions entre les parties, ni de conclusion récapitulative. Parfois, les textes sont cités sans commentaires (cf. p. 126, *Am.* I, 6). Dans certains tableaux (p. 273), la notion de pourcentage par rapport à la taille du corpus apporterait un indice d'évaluation supplémentaire des données. L'œuvre ovidienne comporte en effet trois fois plus de vers que la virgilienne, ce qui modifie les conclusions affichées. On relève par ailleurs un assez grand nombre de coquilles (p. 42 : « faon » pour « façon » ; p. 140 : *Héroïdes* écrit tantôt avec tréma tantôt avec un point sur le *i* ; police grecque défailante p. 140 ; p. 141 : « expédition » ; p. 152 : « où » ; p. 153 : « Cytheron » ; p. 154 : « ode » pour « ose » ; p. 155 : « davatage » ; p. 333 : « poésie » suivi de « Poésie »). Sur le fond, la dimension politique du pôle jupitérien (p. 129) serait sans doute à creuser davantage, comme, dans un autre ordre d'idées, les aspects kinesthésiques des prières, en rapport avec leur performance orale. Surtout, V. Subias-Konofal semble limiter à l'élégie le mouvement de resacralisation de la poésie qui devient chant du monde par sa musicalité ; mais il n'y a sans doute pas lieu d'écarter de cette perspective poétique les poèmes en hexamètres dactyliques suivis, car les *carmina* épiques, bucoliques et didactiques sont autant et même plus concernés par cette perspective de cosmogénèse poétique. Une distinction plus fine des genres serait d'ailleurs bienvenue : la poésie lyrique et la poésie élégiaque apparaissent ici souvent confondues jusqu'au syntagme approximatif « le distique lyrique de l'élégie » (p. 146), où l'auteure a sans doute moins oublié que la lyrique était une division de la poésie antique que souhaité employer l'adjectif avec son sens

moderne. Mais il s'agit là de remarques ponctuelles n'engageant pas la valeur du travail. Finalement, V. Subias-Konofal démontre que l'on doit reconsidérer la valeur culturelle des prières ovidiennes que les historiens de la religion ont souvent lues comme des documents de seconde main, en relevant une prééminence du parodique ou de l'érotique qui subvertirait le discours religieux. C'est surtout dans la sacralisation de la poésie qu'Ovide exprime son sens religieux, entre logocratie et esthétique du sacré. Le beau permet alors d'accéder à une dimension supérieure d'existence où se trouve la transcendence véritable. Par ce biais, en reconnaissant la force agissante de la parole, le poète manifeste sa conscience du sacré. Et sa poétique apparaît l'héritière des pensées orphiques et pythagoriciennes. L'enquête, vraiment intéressante, mériterait d'être prolongée par une étude de l'écho dans le corpus ovidien. Puisque l'anaphore est un principe structurant des textes magiques et religieux, tout autant qu'un principe de composition dans l'architecture des *Métamorphoses*, il serait intéressant de pousser l'investigation en direction de la place de ces reprises sonores dans l'ensemble de la poétique ovidienne. La recherche en a été faite dans le domaine de la bucolique virgilienne, avec aussi bien les travaux de J.-P. Chausserie-Laprée, *Échos et résonances au début de la dixième bucolique* (cité dans la bibliographie de l'ouvrage) que ceux de M. Desport, sur *L'incantation virgilienne*, Bordeaux, 1952. Dans la bucolique, les résonances de la nature confirment le pouvoir du verbe en lui conférant une sorte d'immanence. Il serait intéressant de voir dans quelle mesure l'élégie et l'épopée ovidiennes rejouent les enjeux de la bucolique, avec sans doute des problématiques propres à Ovide (l'autotextualité, les échos d'une prière à l'autre ?). Incontestablement, Ovide partage avec Virgile cette « hantise auditive » dont parle M. Desport, qui caractérise les poètes et modèle leur rapport au monde. Avec chez le Sulmonais la fascination pour la puissance du verbe comme acteur créateur et une jouissance certaine à manier la musique des mots.

Isabelle JOUTEUR.

Alexandre VINCENT, *Jouer pour la cité. Une histoire sociale et politique des musiciens professionnels de l'Occident romain*, Rome, École française de Rome, 2016 (Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 371), 24 × 16 cm, 464 p., 7 fig., 4 tabl., 27 €, ISBN 978-2-7283-1163-7.

Si au moment où l'on ouvre ce livre, l'absence de corpus épigraphique interpelle, l'auteur s'en justifie d'emblée en invoquant le format de sa publication, et en invitant à retrouver en ligne les annexes, qui auraient d'ailleurs rendu l'ouvrage beaucoup trop volumineux. Alexandre Vincent manifeste ainsi sa volonté de transformer sa thèse en un livre publié selon des principes éditoriaux placés sous le signe de l'allègement. L'ouvrage offre un très bon état de la question de la musique romaine, et des musiciens romains, depuis les premières études qui sous-évaluaient ceux-ci, faute de sources, jusqu'aux études plus récentes qui tentent de les réhabiliter. Alexandre Vincent propose un travail neuf et remarquable de recension, fondé sur un corpus épigraphique divisé en deux parties – musiciens militaires et musiciens civils – ce qui lui permet de rapidement se distancier de précédentes considérations sur les musiciens : leur statut social, la place de la femme, le rapport au théâtre... Tout au long de son exposé, l'auteur recoupe les études existantes avec les sources épigraphiques qu'il a nouvellement mises en lumière ; il évalue les opinions communément défendues grâce à un travail de fond précis, détaillé, et aussi complet que le permettent les sources – malheureusement trop peu nombreuses, il nous l'annonce, si on les compare à la place que devait avoir la musique. Grâce à cette confrontation entre les études précédentes et son propre travail, Alexandre Vincent parvient à combler le manque de sources qui n'a pas permis, jusqu'ici, de formuler des théories fidèles à la réalité. Le livre se divise en deux grandes parties : la première porte, d'une part, sur les musiciens militaires, et d'autre part, sur les musiciens civils ; la

deuxième, sur les activités sociales et politiques des musiciens au service de la cité. L'étude des musiciens militaires concerne les individus que l'auteur a pu recenser, ce qui représente, le précise-t-il, moins de 1% ! Il appelle donc à éviter tout systématisme. Dans cette partie, Alexandre Vincent examine la place qui échoit aux musiciens, leur importance au sein de l'armée et de l'organisation militaire, les différents types d'instruments et d'instrumentistes, et leurs particularités. Les observations faites sont systématiquement rapportées à leur provenance : sources littéraires, iconographiques, épigraphiques, travaux historiographiques antérieurs. Grâce à cette démarche méthodique, l'auteur parvient à réhabiliter l'importance des musiciens et leur rôle dans la vie militaire, tout en distinguant les particularités de chaque instrumentiste. Dans la mesure où G. Wille (*Musica romana. Die Bedeutung der Musik im Leben der Römer*, Amsterdam, 1967 ; *Einführung in das römische Musikleben*, Darmstadt, 1977) a déjà étudié la place des musiciens romains dans la vie civile, Alexandre Vincent s'attache ensuite à montrer comment la musique informait le rapport entre la cité et les individus, et en quoi elle était un élément constitutif de l'identité civile des habitants du monde romain. Mise au service de la vie institutionnelle, la fonction des musiciens consistait à rassembler les citoyens, à accompagner la justice, à accompagner la dramatisation des institutions et du politique ; ils avaient aussi leur place lors des sacrifices et, plus largement, dans la vie religieuse, les triomphes, les jeux, les funérailles. L'auteur conclut cette partie par un chapitre sur les instruments de la mémoire culturelle. Il aborde des thèmes encore trop peu explorés, comme la différence entre les instruments de musique, question négligée précédemment et pourtant révélatrice, ou encore l'importance que revêtaient, pour les mémoires collectives, le son et les sonorités qui rythmaient particulièrement la vie quotidienne. Dans la deuxième partie de son livre, Alexandre Vincent nous livre une étude sociale et politique des musiciens civils, à partir, là aussi, d'un questionnaire neuf sur la nature de la pratique musicale, ses conditions et ses modalités. Conformément à sa méthode, il se base principalement sur les sources épigraphiques, en précisant que, si l'essentiel des inscriptions n'expriment pas les conditions dans lesquelles les musiciens assuraient leur service civique, certaines offrent, malgré tout, des éléments décisifs à la réflexion, et des critères qui permettent de déterminer la nature civile des prestations exercées par certains musiciens. Il analyse ainsi la situation des esclaves et affranchis, et leur rapport au maître, puisque certains musiciens étaient des esclaves publics. Ceci le mène à s'interroger sur l'utilité publique du musicien. Certaines sources lui permettent également de parler des conditions de prestation, des contrats, et de la difficulté de connaître les revenus et les statuts. Alexandre Vincent en vient, de ce fait, à la question du métier, de la reconnaissance de la profession, et des méthodes d'apprentissage. Ce premier chapitre de la deuxième partie brasse ainsi largement tous les aspects qui touchent au statut professionnel des musiciens. Pour compléter son analyse, l'auteur cerne la place que le musicien occupait, en tant qu'individu, au sein de la plèbe, son statut légal, mais aussi les caractéristiques de sa vie à l'intérieur de la communauté. Cette description associée à des données d'ordre financier tous les facteurs sociaux dont la prise en compte aide à la compréhension du métier. Enfin, Alexandre Vincent clôture cette brillante étude par un chapitre sur le rôle que la musique et les musiciens ont rempli dans le développement de l'apparat des règnes, notamment celui d'Auguste ; à cette époque, une très forte relation s'est construite entre les musiciens et l'autorité impériale. Ceci le conduit à s'interroger sur le pouvoir des sons, question trop souvent oubliée dans les études anciennes. Pour conclure, cet ouvrage est voué à trouver une place de choix parmi les études sur la musique et les musiciens de la Rome antique. Malgré les lacunes documentaires, il contribue à mieux nous faire connaître une réalité parfois oubliée.

Félicie LÉCRIVAIN.

PUBLICATIONS ADRESSÉES À *LATOMUS*

Nous établissons ici la liste des ouvrages reçus au cours du trimestre écoulé afin d'assurer une information rapide. Sauf impondérables indépendants de notre volonté, tous ceux qui relèvent du domaine de *Latomus* feront ensuite l'objet d'un compte rendu.

- Roberto ALCIATI (ed.), *Norm and Exercise: Christian asceticism between late antiquity and early middle ages*, Stuttgart, F. Steiner, 2018 (Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge, 65), 24 × 17 cm, 202 p., fig., 46 €, ISBN 978-3-515-12154-5.
- Véronique BOUDON-MILLOT / Muriel PARDON-LABONNELIE (ed.), *Le Teint de Phrynè. Thérapeutique et cosmétique dans l'Antiquité*, Paris, de Boccard, 2018 (Orient & Méditerranée, 27), 24 × 16 cm, 252 p., fig., 49 €, ISBN 978-2-7018-0551-1.
- Graziana BRESCIA / Mario LENTANO / Giampiero SCAFOGLIO / Valentina ZANUSSO (ed.), *Revival and Revision of the Trojan Myth: Studies on Dictys Cretensis and Dares Phrygius*, Hildesheim / Zurich / New York, G. Olms, 2018 (Spudasmata, 177), 21 × 15 cm, 398 p., fig., 57,99 €, ISBN 978-3-487-15681-1.
- Dominique BRIQUEL, *Romulus vu de Constantinople. La réécriture de la légende dans le monde byzantin : Jean Malalas et ses successeurs*, Paris, Hermann (Histoire et Archéologie), 24 × 18 cm, 401 p., fig., 45 €, ISBN 978-2-7056-9578-1.
- Frank DAUBNER, *Makedonien nach den Königen (168 v. Chr. – 14. n. Chr.)*, Stuttgart, F. Steiner, 2018 (Historia. Einzelschriften, 251), 24,5 × 17,5 cm, 356 p., 1 pl., fig., 64 €, ISBN 978-3-515-12038-8.
- Katharina DEGEN, *Der Gemeinsinn der Märtyrer. Die Darstellung gemeinwohlorientierten Handelns in den frühchristlichen Martyriumsberichten*, Stuttgart, F. Steiner, 2018 (Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge, 64), 24 × 17 cm, 347 p., 54 €, ISBN 978-3-515-12153-8.
- Maria Pia DONATO / Vincent JOLIVET, *Eredità etrusca. Intorno al singolare caso della tomba monumentale di Grotte Scalina (Viterbo)*, Vetralla, D. Ghaleb, 2018 (Archeologia Città Territorio, 5), 30 × 21 cm, 161 p., fig., 25 €, ISBN 978-88-85261-22-8.
- Margherita FELLER, *La Recensio Wissenburgensis. Studio introduttivo, testo e traduzione*. Prefazione di Paolo GATTI, Trento, Dipartimento di Scienze Filologiche e Storiche, 2018 (Labirinti, 175), 21,5 × 15,5 cm, 198 p., fig., 12 €, ISBN 978-88-8443-796-9.
- Guillaume FLAMERIE DE LACHAPPELLE / Judith ROHMAN (ed.), *Lectures latines. 45 textes de la littérature latine interprétés par des professeurs. En hommage à Sylvie Franchet d'Espèrey*, Bordeaux, Ausonius (diff. de Boccard, Paris), 2018 (Scripta Receptoria, 14), 24 × 17 cm, 342 p., fig., 25 €, ISBN 978-2-35613-234-5.
- Marco FORMISANO / Christina Shuttleworth KRAUS (ed.), *Marginality, Canonicity, Passion*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2018 (Classical Presences), 22 × 14,5 cm, xviii-364 p., fig., 95 £, ISBN 978-0-19-881848-9.
- Elke HARTMANN / Sven PAGE / Anabelle THURN (ed.), *Moral als Kapital im antiken Athen und Rom*, Stuttgart, F. Steiner, 2018, 24 × 17 cm, 328 p., 54 €, ISBN 978-3-515-12077-7.
- Hartmut LEPPIN, *Die frühen Christen. Von den Anfängen bis Konstantin*, München, C. H. Beck, 2018, 22,5 × 14 cm, 512 p., fig., 29,95 €, ISBN 978-3-406-72510-4.
- Ricardo MARTÍNEZ LACY (ed.), *Hermenéutica de la esclavitud. Actas del XXXVII Coloquio del GIREA*, Besançon, Presses Universitaires de Franche-Comté, 2018, 22 × 16 cm, 203 p., 35 €, ISBN 978-2-84867-636-4.

- Gernot Michael MÜLLER (ed.), *Zwischen Alltagskommunikation und literarischer Identitätsbildung. Studien zur lateinischen Epistolographie in Spätantike und Frühmittelalter*, Stuttgart, F. Steiner, 2018 (Roma *Æterna*, 7), 24,5 × 17,5 cm, 404 p., 66 €, ISBN 978-3-515-12099-9.
- Yves PERRIN, *Itinéraires romains. Documents de topographie et d'archéologie historiques pour l'histoire de Rome (de Scipion à Constantin)*, Bordeaux, Ausonius (diff. De Boccard, Paris), 2018 (*Mémoires*, 51), 29 × 22 cm, 585 p., fig., 60 €, ISBN 978-2-35613-224-6.
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